The Nation

December 26, 1981 $1.25

JAN -8 1982
JOHNSON CITY TN
THE SHERROD LIBR
PERIODICALS LIBR
ETSU LIBRARY

137

EDITORIAL

CREATION IN COURT

"The concept of a creator is not necessarily inherently religious." So said Arkansas Attorney General Steven Clark in the Little Rock courtroom where the state's law requiring the teaching of "creation science" in the public schools was on trial. If people didn't like the idea of a "creator," Clark went on, they could say "originator." "It's a trial of semantics," he said.

Clark, of course, was trying to defend a law, written by fundamentalists, that has been sanitized of all mention of God in hopes that it will be found constitutional. There are even two versions of the creation-science textbook: one with God for extracurricular use, and one sans the deity for use in the schools.

Will we next have school prayers that are legally laundered? Will the kids every morning intone The Originator's Prayer? And this matter of a proper title for the non-divinity deserves more thought. How about "coordinator"? Or "expediter" (as in "Nearer My Expediter to Thee")? Or, to borrow one of those fancy titles that proliferate in the ad game, "senior creative vice president"?

Creationism without a creator seems to us a contradiction in terms, and we fear that our fundamentalist brethren have fallen into the sin of despair. Having given up on the power of faith, they invent a "science" that supposedly disproves the theory of evolution and conclude that the Book of Genesis is literally true. Moreover, if the curricular fairness doctrine is upheld, may the astrologists demand equal time in physics classes? The Christian Scientists in health courses? Finally, we do not believe that legislators should be passing laws setting out course descriptions.

It is impossible to teach science without teaching Darwinian theory, but it is also impossible to require the teaching of creationism without violating the ban on religion in the schools. Semantics has nothing to do with it.

HOW PATCO WAS TRAPPED
Richard W. Hurd

THE RURAL ENERGY WAR
Barry M. Casper
Paul David Wellstone

ITALY'S POLITICAL VACUUM
Norman Birnbaum

THE NIXON LIBRARY
Tom Schlesinger

CHRISTMAS BOOK LISTS
Nation Editors & Contributors

COUP IN POLAND

JARUZELSKI SENDS IN THE TANKS

DANIEL SINGER

Paris

Sunday, December 13, order reigned in Warsaw. Martial law had been proclaimed. Tanks patrolled the streets of the capital. Most of the leaders of Solidarity were behind bars or interned in camps. The authorities could arrest people at will. Transport and communications, the mines and the factories were placed under military control. Poles who disobeyed the martial-law decree faced penalties ranging from two years in jail to the firing squad. The extraordinary victories of Gdansk and the freedoms won by the Polish workers apparently had been crushed.

The Polish labor movement faced a tragic dilemma. If it did not react, if it passively acquiesced in the takeover, it would lose all its precious conquests. But if it fought back, its members risked their lives and a civil war. Even if the workers could paralyze the military, they had little hope of victory, because the coup carried out by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski was not an example of what Marxists call Bonapartism.

The tanks moved in because of a stalemate in the class struggle. In Poland the stalemate is international; Soviet troops weigh heavily in the balance. The new Polish junta, the twenty-one officers forming the Military Council of National Salvation, made no bones about it. Their December 13 proclamation ended with the words, "This is our last chance to restore order in our own house by our own force."

Noninterference in Poland's internal affairs was the watchword in the outside world. Let the Poles solve their own problems was the refrain, as though tanks versus people represented democracy in action. The day after the coup,

(*Continued on Page 706*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS.

'COVERTACTION' RESPONDS

Washington, D.C.

In Leslie Dunbar's letter ["Letters," *The Nation*, Nov. 21], he "defies" you "to find any evidence to support the charge made, by selective quotation, that the [American Civil Liberties Union] has tried to 'distance' itself from 'least popular victims.' " *The Nation* correctly responded that that challenge should be directed to *CovertAction*.

While there are other aspects of the names-of-agents legislation controversy to which we hope to respond in the future, we deal here with Dunbar's challenge, because the vehemence with which it is put would lead one to believe that he is on firm ground. He is not. The following quotations are from Congressional testimony by Morton Halperin, Jerry Berman and John Shattuck, all on behalf of the A.C.L.U. and all with respect to the Intelligence Identities Protection Act:

(*1*) January 30, 1980; Halperin, Berman and Shattuck to the House Intelligence Committee: "We have indicated our readiness to consider . . . a narrowly drawn statute to protect the identity and safety of intelligence agents. . . . We are aware of and even share the current public concern over effective intelligence in the light of the present international crisis. . . ."

(*2*) June 25, 1980; Halperin to the Senate Intelligence Committee: "We do not support the view that there should not be a [Central Intelligence Agency] or intelligence community. We support the enactment of a comprehensive charter which would put the intelligence community on an appropriate legislative footing. Nor do we support, to use Mr. Carlucci's words, the 'wholesale' listing of names of purported C.I.A. employees, agents or assets. We are sympathetic with and understanding of the desire of this committee, the C.I.A. and many people to try to deal with this problem."

(*3*) September 5, 1980; Halperin to the Senate Judiciary Committee: "Mr. Keuch said, as he was finishing, that in his view, public debate does not require the seriatim disclosure of the names of individuals working for their country. I think I agree with that."

(*4*) April 8, 1981; Halperin to the House Intelligence Committee: "Now I agree that publishing lists of names does not accomplish, as far as I can tell, any First Amendment purpose."

(*5*) May 8, 1981; Berman and Halperin to the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism: "We do not condone the practice of naming names and we fully understand Congress' desire to do what it can to provide meaningful protection to those intelligence agents serving abroad, often in situations of danger."

So much for Leslie Dunbar's righteous indignation. We know that many well-meaning people have questions about the practice of "naming names," and we welcome discussions with them and the opportunity to explain our philosophy. But it is disconcerting, to say the least, when the supposed defenders of the First Amendment approach Congress in the fashion indicated above. If Dunbar still thinks our accusation was made in bad faith, he should do some soul-searching.

The Nation is correct in saying that "the pre-eminent threat to civil liberties today" comes from the Administration and Congress. But the effectiveness of that assault, today as in the past, will be objectively enhanced, not limited, when the opposition waffles, retreats and, yes, distances itself from the least popular victims.

William H. Schaap, Ellen Ray
Louis Wolf, Co-Editors
CovertAction Information Bulletin

MORRISON'S PSEUDO-MILITANCY

Palisades, N.Y.

One can make allowances for Toni Morrison's audience at the American Writers Congress. Most of them came, no doubt, because they were eager to respond to a call to arms. No doubt Morrison's delivery, her passion and her presence were impressive. But try reading carefully the focal passage of her keynote speech ["Writers Together," *The Nation*, Oct. 24].

"We don't need any more writers as solitary heroes. We need a heroic writers' movement—assertive, militant, pugnacious." This makes some sense if you substitute "football players" for "writers." Heroic or not, writing is done well only in solitude, never by movements—and assertive, militant, pugnacious writing is bad, ineffective writing. "That is our mission and our risk: we have chosen it. It is also our power: we have earned it." This is pure drum-and-bugle music; there is no way to read sense into it. "If just one resolution comes from this Congress, let it be that we remain at the barricades where we belong." Well, remaining at the barricades is about the least useful way for a writer to contribute as a writer to any cause. Leaving that aside, the "barricades" metaphor is disastrously inappropriate for most of the major issues that American writers (and other Americans) have to face. Its use here is a mirror image of the push-button emotionalism and false heroism that are costing us billions of inflationary dollars for useless and dangerous strategic weapons. And last: "We must be more than central. We must be sovereign." To say that about writers is not just drum-and-bugle music; it is nuts. The writer's "mission and risk" is always to aim above, below and at unexpected angles to the center and to keep totally free of dreams of personal power.

In sum, not a single sentence in that passage is sensible or true. It would not be worth comment, perhaps, if it had not been quoted enthusiastically as the introduction to The Nation Institute's "Post-Congress Update," which I received recently.

There are so many worthwhile tasks the Congress could take on—and a few of them appear on the continuations agenda—that this kind of mindless pseudo-militance is disturbing, to put it mildly. If it really sets the tone for the Congress' future, and if it affects the editorial policy of *The Nation*, your usefulness will be dramatically reduced.

Andrew E. Norman

MURDERING DISSENT

New York City

My compliments to the editors for publishing Christopher Hitchens's informative account of "The Curiel Affair" [*The Nation*, Nov. 14]. I appreciate the publicity if only to assuage my guilt for not having written about the case myself two years ago following a press conference I attended in Paris when it was first aired. Madame Curiel and several prominent left-liberal journalists vehemently protested the Interior Ministry's failure to investigate the May 19, 1978, murder of her husband, Henri Curiel.

The journalists went on to charge complicity, not as Hitchens suggests of "the French courts and civil service" but of the police, which staged an apparent cover-up. It was common knowledge, the journalists asserted, that rightist assassins were operating in Paris, but police collusion in Curiel's murder seemed likely because for years he was kept under daily surveillance by the Troisième Bureau.

In the name of democratic solidarity and human rights, it behooves all liberals and radicals to protest Curiel's murder. The memory of Orlando Letelier's murder and that of his American colleague, Ronni Moffitt, has not dimmed with time.

Assassination is but one way to silence political dissent. Other less drastic but equally effective means were employed under McCarthyism, and attention must be paid to its recrudescence in Washington, D.C. There was no outcry last fall against the libelous smears of Curiel and a host of others by three irresponsible ultraconservatives, Arnaud de Borchgrave, Robert Moss and Claire Sterling, all of whom testified at a hearing of the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism. They portrayed revolutionary advocacy and activism as "terrorism" that was Soviet instigated if not also subsidized.

Obfuscating the distinction between opinions and overt acts endangers free speech, chills political dissent and eventually could erode the First Amendment. Let's keep the categories clear, especially in the face of imminent threats under President Reagan's executive order to unleash the Central Intelligence Agency for domestic infiltration and surveillance.

Sylvia E. Crane

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 233, Number 22

LETTERS
690

EDITORIALS
689 Creation in Court
691 Polish Abyss
692 Political Gas
692 Sakharov's Way
693 Basin Bailout — *Christopher Hitchens*
694 *Dispatches* — *Elizabeth Farnsworth and Stephen Talbot*

ARTICLES
689 Coup in Poland: Jaruzelski Sends In the Tanks — *Daniel Singer*
696 Inquest on a Strike: How PATCO Was Led Into a Trap — *Richard W. Hurd*
699 People v. Power Lines: The Rural Energy War—Report from the Front Lines — *Barry M. Casper and Paul David Wellstone*
700 Political Vacuum: Now Is the Time for a Party To Aid the Italians — *Norman Birnbaum*
704 Openers to the Far East: Why the Nixon Library Is Good for Duke — *Tom Schlesinger*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
708 Remembering the Answers — *Alan Wald*
711 Melville: Moby-Dick or, The Whale: The Arion Press Edition — *Monica Strauss*
712 The Year in Books
715 Films — *Robert Hatch*

Drawings by Seymour Chwast

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editor,* Kai Bird; *Assistant Editor,* Amy Wilentz (on leave); *Visiting Editor,* John S. Rosenberg; *Literary Editor,* Elizabeth Pochoda; *Assistant Literary Editor,* Elena Brunet; *Poetry Editor,* Grace Schulman; *Copy Editor,* Janet Gold; *Assistant Copy Editors,* Barbara Dudley Davis, Judith Long; *Editorial Assistant,* Eric Etheridge; *Editorial Aide,* David Corn; *Editorial Secretary,* Ola Lyon; *Interns,* Susan Austin, Mark Clifford, John Eastburn, David Gillcrist, Jenny Hoover, Peter Howell, Hugo Moreno, Eva Pomice, Fran Schnier.

Departments: Architecture, Jane Holtz Kay; *Films,* Robert Hatch; *Music,* David Hamilton; *White House Correspondent,* Robert Sherrill. *Correspondents: Latin America,* Penny Lernoux; *London,* Raymond Williams; *Paris,* Claude Bourdet; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*), Elizabeth Farnsworth & Stephen Talbot (*Dispatches*). *Contributing Editors,* Blair Clark, Christopher Hitchens, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board:* James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Robert Lekachman, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish III

Advertising Manager, Carole Kraemer; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Gertrude Silverston; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Assistant to Publisher,* Laurie Lipper; *Circulation Manager,* Stephen King; *Classified,* Deborah Kriger; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Nation Associates,* Claudine Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen; *Publishing Consultant,* Jack Berkowitz; *Circulation Consultant,* Deborah Begel.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1981 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel.: 212-242-8400. *Subscription Mail Address:* Nation Subscription Service, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Regular Subscription Price: One year, $30; two years, $50; six months, $15. Add $5 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; $7 other foreign. All foreign subscriptions must be paid in equivalent U.S. funds. **Please allow 5-7 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries should be sent to: *The Nation,* Subscription Services, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305.

EDITORIALS.

Polish Abyss

As Daniel Singer reports in this week's cover story, the situation in Poland is bleak, and the determination of many Western leaders to demonstrate calm to the point of indifference makes it even bleaker. The people of Poland need an outpouring of support from the rest of the world, especially from the political left in Western Europe. Instead, many expressions of concern were tempered by relief that the chaos in Poland would be ended and that the Polish rather than the Russian military is crushing the Polish freedom movement. Western bankers holding $16 billion in outstanding loans to Poland were even cautiously bullish.

Is there any hope? Only a little. If Solidarity's contingency plan—a general strike, with workers occupying the major factories—succeeds, the military junta may be forced to negotiate. The union could then refuse to bargain until those imprisoned under the martial-law decree are released.

The real danger, of course, is that Soviet troops will be ordered in if the new junta seems to be giving in to Solidarity. This looming threat makes the success of the union's contingency plan more doubtful. Thus the mobilization of world opinion to deter a Soviet invasion is vital. But Western protest could be expressed in more concrete ways. Financial pressures might be one tactic. Radio Warsaw, reporting reactions abroad to the takeover, said, "Western financial circles, which for obvious reasons are interested in seeing the normalization of the situation in Poland and the development of the Polish national economy, have also reacted calmly and, one might say, with a form of relief.

The Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
JAN 5 - 1982

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

They are interested in the credibility of the Polish debtor." If President Carter could freeze Iranian assets to protect Chase Manhattan Bank, is it unthinkable that President Reagan might take similar measures to help the Polish workers? There may be good political, diplomatic or economic reasons not to embark on such a course, but, as of last week, the possibility of not allowing Western bankers to refinance their loans to Poland was not even being discussed—perhaps because Wall Street has too much to lose. America's real national interest lies in solidarity with the Polish workers. Let Wall Street and the Kremlin bear the costs of repression.

Political Gas

In the spirit of the season, Congress has made a consortium of oil companies planning to build a natural-gas pipeline from Alaska very happy. Consumers, however, will not find these tidings so glad, since the legislators have shifted most of the financial risk for the $40 billion project onto their shoulders. Users of the natural gas that will be piped down to the lower forty-eight states will pay off an estimated $20 billion to $30 billion in debt and interest, so that the companies can recover their costs before the pipeline is in operation.

The original decision to build the 4,800-mile pipeline that will tap 26 trillion cubic feet of proven reserves at Alaska's Prudhoe Bay was made by President Jimmy Carter. In 1977, Carter approved the plan submitted by Northwest Energy, a consortium headed by John McMillian, an oilman with close ties to the Democratic Party. McMillian promised that the entire project would be financed privately. There would be no governmental financial guarantees; "nor will the consumer have to bear the hypothetical burden of the noncompletion of the project," he told Congress that year. President Carter also insisted that Exxon, Arco and Sohio, the companies that extract nearly all of the natural gas in Alaska, should not own the pipeline, because that could create "monopoly profits through anticompetitive activity." According to the plan, the cost of constructing a $4 billion conditioning plant to prepare the raw gas for transmission through the pipeline would be borne by the producers, rather than passed on to consumers in their gas bills.

But despite estimates of a 30 percent rate of return on investment during the pipeline's first year of operation, the banks were reluctant to finance it. They feared that the project would not be completed. For their part, the oil companies insisted on ownership of a piece of the pipeline and also demanded that they be allowed to pass on the cost of the conditioning plant to consumers.

Ordinary entrepreneurs might have given up at that point, but not a man with impeccable political connections. McMillian agreed to the oil companies' terms and put together a proposal that waived the conditions set by the Carter Administration. President Reagan approved the new package in October and sent it to Congress on a "fast-track" schedule (debate was limited to one hour in each house).

Then McMillian hired Peter Hannaford, former partner of top White House aide Michael Deaver and purchaser of national security adviser Richard Allen's public-relations business, to handle Republican legislators. McMillian also engaged prominent Democrats, including Walter Mondale, former Democratic National Committee chairman Robert Strauss, present Democratic National Committee chairman Charles Manatt and Anne Wexler, a Carter political adviser, and retained the law firm of Lee White, Federal Power Commission chairman under Lyndon Johnson. Just to be on the safe side, he paid $10,000 for a table at the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee's dinner.

Not that the Democrats needed much persuasion. Democratic leaders, appalled at the huge amounts of corporate money—particularly from the oil companies—that was flowing into Republican coffers, lined up solidly behind the giveaway. Representative Tony Coelho of California, chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, became one of the pipeline's most active supporters.

With a bipartisan array of backers behind it, the measure breezed through the Senate. In the House, however, Republicans worked against the bill and came within forty-two votes of defeating it. According to Ralph Nader, House Speaker Tip O'Neil broke his promise to delay the vote, and this prevented the opposition from arousing public support. "Another week, and we would have won," Nader said.

Energy Action, a Washington, D.C.-based consumer group, estimates that the pipeline surcharge could add $150 a year to every homeowner's gas bill. The average industrial user in Ohio will pay an additional $41,000. Since large industries can easily switch to oil, the burden will fall mainly on homeowners and small commercial users, whose energy costs will skyrocket. And the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission will be powerless to adjust rates because its authority to lower charges in the public interest was suspended relative to the natural-gas pipeline.

As Bill Moyers summed up the whole affair: "The two-party system is not only up for grabs—it's up for sale."

Sakharov's Way

In an interview that appeared in *The New York Times Book Review* recently, Saul Bellow expressed a rather cynical attitude about getting involved in causes. "I've yet to feel I've intimidated Brezhnev by signing protests," the winner of the 1976 Nobel Prize in Literature said.

The 1975 winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, Andrei Sakharov, would probably also say that he has never intimidated Leonid Brezhnev by signing protests. All the same, as Sakharov has recently demonstrated, even Brezhnev cannot disregard every protest. When the clamor becomes as widespread as it did in response to the hunger strike undertaken by Sakharov and his wife and partner in the human-rights cause, Yelena Bonner, it may have a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dramatic effect. Now Yelizaveta Alekseyeva may join her husband, Sakharov's step-son, in the United States.

Sakharov, of course, has participated in a great many protests—against nuclear testing, against economic and racial inequality, against the U.S. involvement in Vietnam, against the U.S.S.R.'s involvement in Afghanistan and against violations of human rights. The past protests were not always as successful as his most recent one, in which he threatened to take his own life. Yet none of the other efforts were wasted. They made it easier for others to raise their voices and occasionally dissuaded some official from pursuing a particular course quite as zealously as he would have if there had been no outcry. If nothing else, Sakharov kept alive the idea of protest.

According to *The Times*, Bellow feels that requests for him to involve himself in this or that cause "act as distractions from his true vocation." We admire Bellow and we respect his right to pursue his vocation by his own lights. But Sakharov, who won as much distinction pursuing his vocation as a scientist as Bellow has earned as a novelist, found time to respond to "distractions."

Basin Bailout

Years ago, in response to the "great fear" generated by the Cuban revolution, President John Kennedy proclaimed the Alliance for Progress. It was a shaky coalition of businessmen and politicians, mustered under the umbrella of Washington and ostensibly searching for a "third way" between socialism and oligarchy. It succeeded in raising a lot of expectations (many of them still unsatisfied), but after a while most of its adherents got bored with the search and reverted to military dictatorship.

Recently, in Miami, the Reagan Administration co-sponsored a conference that represented a half-hearted attempt to revive the ideals of the Alliance. The other sponsor was Caribbean Central American Action, which claims in its prospectus to be "funded by major US business firms" and announces that its objective is "to strengthen the role of private sector institutions in the democratic process." Although C.C.A.A. describes itself as "non-governmental," it seems to be more than just another business lobby. Many of its key staff people are on loan from the State Department; return envelopes used by those registering for the conference bore the State Department frank.

Nor was the Administration absent from the platform. Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas Enders and U.S. Trade Representative William Brock both edified the audience with long speeches. The President sent a taped message to the inaugural dinner. There was much talk of the "C.B.I.," or Caribbean Basin Initiative (*basin* has apparently replaced *arc* as the fashionable regional crisis metaphor).

Those who were present were interesting; those who were absent were hardly less so. Among the distinguished guests were President José Napoleón Duarte of El Salvador and Prime Minister Edward Seaga of Jamaica. Among the distinguished absentees were the Nicaraguans, the Grenadans and the Cubans. They were not invited, but they were mentioned in almost every speech and briefing. They were the specter at the feast.

Great contrasts were evident between Seaga and Duarte, and between the receptions accorded to them. Seaga is currently the Reagan Administration's regional pin-up. As he told the delegates: "Fortunately the earlier discussions initiated between President Reagan and myself on the occasion of my official visit at the beginning of this year have now produced timely results with a decision by Washington to purchase, exchange and barter 1.6 million metric tons of bauxite needed for its strategic minerals stockpile." Those who voted for former Prime Minister Michael Manley in last year's election may well ask why such "understanding" of Jamaica's problems was not displayed earlier. The United States, which has many other potential and even superior sources of bauxite, has not yet made clear what the conditions of "purchase, exchange and barter" are going to be. But one of them seems simple enough—the expulsion of the Cuban Embassy from Kingston, which was carried out with great style and dispatch a short while ago.

Political conformity of this kind will become more and more necessary with the passage of time. The final form of the Caribbean Basin Initiative will involve many bilateral aid and tariff agreements, including charitable preference for imported goods also manufactured in the United States. In order to get Congressional approval in a time of recession, these schemes will have to be presented as desirable on political and national security grounds. Seaga has shown exceptional agility in setting such a good example so early in the game.

Duarte was another thing altogether. He positively looked and sounded frightened. The Salvadoran business leadership boycotted the Miami gathering because of what they saw as Duarte's socialistic approach to land and tax reform. He assured all present, with outstretched hands, that he was no enemy to free enterprise and that he was a sturdy friend of business. They listened politely, even when he referred to the rule of the previous oligarchy as "totalitarian." Only once was there any nervousness, and that was when Duarte violated guest-speaker rule number one and posed a rhetorical question. "Imagine," he asked, "that you in the United States had only a few people owning everything." A certain amount of coughing and shifting among the audience accompanied this reflection.

Duarte claims that he has already accomplished a "revolution" in his country. It was hard not to think of Eduardo Frei and his Chilean Revolution in Liberty—one of the showpieces of the last *Alianza*. So seriously did the Chilean people take the promise of a better future that they threw out Frei and elected the parties of the left—with consequences not easily forgotten. The last Alliance for Progress ended in tragedy. The new one is richly equipped for farce.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

Christopher Hitchens is a contributing editor of The Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DISPATCHES.

■ CHINA: "One is Enough"

Next year China will conduct its first comprehensive census since 1964, and some foreign observers fear that it will show that China's population has already exceeded the government's target of 1.2 billion for the year 2000.

This demographic bombshell comes despite a determined effort by the government to encourage family planning. Contraceptive use is widespread now, and the birthrate has fallen from 23.4 per 1,000 people in 1971 to 12 per 1,000 people in 1978. In 1979, the government launched a one-child-per-family drive, reinforced by an array of incentives and punishments. Couples who have only one child are rewarded with better housing allocations, salary bonuses and free day care, education and health care for their only child until he or she is 14. Couples who flout the "one is enough" policy forfeit all benefits, and their wages can be cut by up to 10 percent. In cities like Shanghai, the single-child campaign is said to be having an impact. But in rural areas, where large families are traditional, there has been resistance, especially among couples whose first-born is a girl. The Chinese preference for sons remains deeply rooted, for all the government's efforts to extirpate it.

The "one is enough" campaign has been accompanied by excesses of zeal on the part of the authorities, including forced abortions and sterilizations. A story published this summer in the leftist Hong Kong newspaper *Zheng Ming Ribao* reported that pregnant women in one part of densely populated Guandong province were rounded up, herded into vehicles and taken to hospitals for abortions.

Chinese leaders have warned that the population must stabilize at about 1.2 billion if the country is to feed itself and progress economically. To reach that goal, the government will need all the ingenuity and popular support it can muster. As Indira Ghandi's campaign of forced sterilization in India proved, repressive measures only lead to resistance and failure.

■ GUATEMALA: Guerrilla Offensive

Guerrilla attacks are a constant threat in Guatemala, and army commanders are worried. Chief of Staff Gen. Benedicto Lucas García, brother of the president, said that the Guerrilla Army of the Poor (E.G.P.), the most active of the country's four guerrilla organizations, has 1,200 members and 20,000 peasant sympathizers in the Quiché and Huehuetenango departments. This was a startling admission. A few weeks earlier the army had claimed that the guerrilla movement was nearly wiped out.

The most recent rebel offensive began in late October with bombings and machine gunnings of banks and government offices in Guatemala City. The most serious attacks occurred on October 28, when the E.G.P. attacked military and police installations in three department capitals, Sololá and Mazatenango in the southwest and Escuintla in the south. Twenty-four people, including the governor of Sololá, were killed. Between 200 and 300 guerrillas converged on Sololá, a tourist town near Lake Atitlán. Armed with automatic rifles, bazookas and grenades, the E.G.P. raided the national police station and government offices. After a two-hour battle, they took control of the town and held it overnight, vanishing into the countryside the next morning. Large-scale attacks continued last month, and on November 20, the army launched what General Lucas García called a "gigantic military offensive" involving thousands of troops and aimed at flushing the guerrillas from their mountain hideouts. The operation has brought more suffering to the communities in the northwest highlands where the guerrillas have found support.

General Lucas García and other army leaders are particularly concerned about the E.G.P.'s success in organizing the indigenous peoples of Huehuetenango, a densely populated mountainous province on the Mexican border. In spite of earlier army operations in the area, which have included air attacks on defenseless villages suspected of being guerrilla strongholds, Indians continue to join the insurgent forces in large numbers. In an interview published recently in *Noticias de Guatemala*, a newsletter published in Costa Rica, an E.G.P. leader claimed that many villages in Huehuetenango have joined the guerrillas. In vast areas where there are no plantations or mines and where central authority has always been weak, the E.G.P. is now the effective government, he said.

■ MOZAMBIQUE: Pretorian Guard

South Africa's repeated invasions of Angola and its recent tacit support for an attempted invasion of the Seychelles by Col. "Mad Mike" Hoare and his white mercenaries have drawn international criticism, but its covert backing of antigovernment guerrillas operating in Marxist Mozambique has been little noted in the West. Fighting has escalated sharply in the past two months. The rebels, who call themselves the Mozambique National Resistance (N.R.M.), carried out several bold acts of sabotage in or near the country's second largest city, Beira.

The insurgents blew up two key bridges over the Pungüe River about thirty miles north of Beira before dawn on October 29, according to the Mozambique Information Agency. The explosion cut the railway line between Mozambique and Zimbabwe and destroyed a 200-yard section of an oil pipeline that Zimbabwe needs to reduce its energy dependence on South Africa. N.R.M. rebels also claimed responsibility for destroying all the marker buoys in the harbor at Beira, and they have ambushed civilian buses and private cars and ransacked villages in central and northern Mozambique. The Mozambique government has attempted to play down N.R.M. activity, but articles have recently appeared in the national newsweekly *Tempo* and other publications portraying the guerrillas as a serious threat.

The N.R.M. was formed in 1975 after the leftist group Frelimo won Mozambique's independence from Portugal. Financed by wealthy Portuguese, the rebels were initially a motley assortment of white mercenaries and blacks who had

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

served in the Portuguese colonial army, and they were led by white officers. Their numbers were augmented by blacks and whites who had fought on the losing side in Zimbabwe. Now, however, the N.R.M. is controlled by South Africa. The Mozambique government charges that the South African Army trains the rebels at a camp in South Africa's Transvaal province on Mozambique's southern border. They then slip into Mozambique and are resupplied by South African air lifts.

A U.S. State Department official told Dispatches that it was "more than a reasonable assumption" that Pretoria was stepping up aid to the N.R.M. in retaliation for Mozambique's support of the African National Congress, the black nationalist movement in South Africa. "The South Africans see Mozambique as a terrorists' haven," the official said, "so they like to have some terrorists of their own who can trash Mozambique and rub their noses in it." He estimated that the N.R.M. has at least 5,000 guerrillas, including some dissident members of Frelimo. "They pose a real problem, but they are not yet a threat to the government," he said.

■ PAKISTAN: The Universities' Turn

Increased American support for the regime of Gen. Zia ul-Haq, culminating in a $3.2 billion military aid package, has encouraged it to step up its repressive tactics. Following a systematic crackdown on political parties, trade unions, journalists' and lawyers' associations and Pakistan's courageous and independent judiciary [see Eqbal Ahmad, "General Zia Is Now the Law," *The Nation*, May 30], General Zia has now gone after the universities.

According to Iftikhar Ahmad, a Pakistani dissident living in this country, a faculty member at Quaid-e-Azm University in Islamabad was arrested for allegedly distributing anti-government literature. Before the defendant had even been formally charged, General Zia presented an award to the arresting officer in a nationally televised ceremony. Two other teachers were arrested for possession of "subversive literature," including Alexander Solzhenitsyn's *Cancer Ward* and the *Beijing Review*. The three have been held incommunicado at Lahore Fort, a notorious interrogation center. The arrests have had a predictably chilling effect on Pakistan's beleaguered academic community. (For more information on the brutalities of the Zia regime, write to the Pakistan Committee for Democracy and Justice, P.O. Box 776, Stuyvesant Station, New York, N.Y. 10009.)

Two disturbing reports suggest that Pakistan continues to develop a nuclear bomb, even though it risks losing American aid by doing so. In a December 1 story in the *Christian Science Monitor*, correspondent David Wills wrote that Pakistan "has secretly tried to get highly sensitive diagnostic coaxial cable from U.S. and European suppliers." U.S. officials managed to block the sale of the cable, which is used to monitor underground nuclear blasts. And the London *Observer* reported that International Atomic Energy Agency inspectors touring Pakistan's nuclear reactor near Karachi were critical of the facility's monitoring equipment. A confidential I.A.E.A. report obtained by the *Observer* said that the Pakistanis had rebuffed the inspector's requests that they move television monitors into better surveillance positions and that they install additional "bundle counters," which detect whether fuel rods are being secretly "burned" in order to produce plutonium.

■ FRANCE: "White-Collar Opposition"

The exchange of invective between supporters and opponents of the administration of President François Mitterrand grew so rancorous last month that *L'Express* magazine asked, "Is there a rupture in the social fabric?" In the National Assembly and in the Senate, the debate was especially venomous. The low point was reached when Gaullist Deputy Jean Foyer, a former Minister of Justice, suggested that under the government's amnesty program, known terrorists had been released from prison in order to assassinate prominent figures on the right.

President Mitterrand has reacted philosophically to the latest wave of attacks, telling his supporters that verbal violence from the right is to be expected. What he called the "nascent climate of intellectual civil war" was not dangerous as long as the right has no charismatic leader and no *projet*, or coherent program, that could attract mass political support. The main threat to the left, Mitterrand said, was not to be found in the National Assembly but in the "white-collar opposition" of the *patronat*, the country's financial and industrial leadership.

During his six months in power, Mitterrand has made a determined effort to woo elements of the business community. The government has, for example, offered subsidies to ailing textile companies as a way of stimulating investment. So far, however, most French businessmen remain openly hostile to the new government. At a recent meeting of the federation of small- and medium-sized enterprises, many executives complained that nationalization of bank credit, ceiling prices on certain goods, higher taxes on business expenses and stepped-up social security contributions have left them short of ready cash. "We don't believe in dialogue anymore," René Bernasconi, president of the federation, told the press.

To the Socialists, the executives' hostility smacks of economic sabotage. "Never has a government mobilized such financial resources to promote employment and investment," Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy told reporters November 19. "Contrary to what some have said or written, the 1982 budget does not call for any increases in the fiscal burden on business."

Mitterrand is said to be obsessed with what happened to Chile under Salvador Allende. There, business interests deliberately wrecked the economy in order to discredit the Socialist government. The French Socialists still hope they can win over French capitalists—or at least a significant number of them—rather than face a similar confrontation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

INQUEST ON A STRIKE

How PATCO Was Led Into a Trap

RICHARD W. HURD

On June 23, 1981, only one day after negotiators for the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization had signed an agreement with the Federal government, John Richardson, data systems officer at the Central Flow Control facility in Jacksonville, Florida, received a telephone call. On the line was Roger Brubaker, a friend and former co-worker who was now Richardson's boss in Washington, D.C. Brubaker had a job for Richardson: redraft completely the Carter Administration's contingency plan for handling air traffic in a controllers' strike. Thus, even though PATCO's leadership had come to terms with the government, the government was preparing for a strike.

The Federal Aviation Administration's Central Flow Control facility is responsible for formulating a national flight-control plan using the schedules submitted by the nation's airlines, and so it had drawn up the original strike contingency plan. But the airlines were unhappy with the Carter plan. As an employee at the Jacksonville facility put it, "Since the airlines were concerned, Flow Control was too."

The main reason for the industry's dissatisfaction was that the contingency plan allowed for only 15 percent of the normal number of flights at the outset of a strike. The airlines also disliked the F.A.A. setting their flight schedules for them. Finally, they bridled at the rigidity of various rules in the plan—for example, the one that read: "Flights not airborne within ten minutes of their approved takeoff time will be considered cancelled for the day."

In the course of drawing up his new plan, Richardson consulted representatives of several of the major airlines and revised the proposal to incorporate their suggestions and comments. As a result of this preliminary work, when he presented the completed plan to the Air Transport Association in Los Angeles on July 21, the response was overwhelmingly favorable. The airlines had been so intimately involved in preparing the proposal that they knew its details even before Richardson's superiors in the F.A.A. did. But when the higher-ups in Washington were briefed on July 23, they also liked what they heard.

Richardson's scheme, known as the 75-50 Flow Control Plan, was designed to respond to conditions at individual airports. The heart of the plan was the even spacing of flights throughout the day, thus eliminating heavy traffic periods and enabling a reduced contingent of controllers to handle more traffic than they could have handled under the Carter plan. In addition to giving them more flights, Richardson gave the airlines greater flexibility in scheduling and wider discretion over which flights to cancel. The entire operation was based on the implicit assumption that a significant number of PATCO members would not strike and thus would flesh out the skeleton crews of supervisory and military personnel and retirees. If these PATCO controllers were not available, air traffic would have to drop precipitously.

On Saturday, July 25, the word went out to the nation's airlines: send proposed schedules to Central Flow Control. Smaller companies that had not participated in discussions with Richardson were briefed on the plan by the F.A.A.'s Air Traffic Service. Once the airlines had told him which flights they were willing to cancel, Richardson fed the data into the computers. The revised flight schedule was completed by 3 A.M. on August 3—four hours before the strike began. By 10 A.M., the 75-50 Flow Control plan was fully operational.

The 75-50 plan would be a godsend to the troubled airline industry. Profits had fallen 89 percent in 1980, and the airlines had lost about $200 million in the first six months of 1981. A lengthy strike by PATCO could have dealt a death blow to troubled carriers like Pan Am and badly wounded even healthy companies like Delta. The economic problems of the industry stemmed largely from the 1978 Airline Deregulation Act. Under deregulation, any airline was allowed to fly to any city so long as there was space for its planes at the terminal and room in the sky. The result was a scramble

Richard W. Hurd is a professor of economics at the University of New Hampshire and a consultant to labor unions.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

into high-traffic markets, without corresponding cutbacks elsewhere. By 1981, the industry was suffering from underbooking; most planes were flying with more than half their seats empty.

To make matters worse, a new breed of airline had entered the fray—the no-frills, cut-rate carriers like New York Air and People Express on the East Coast and Midway Air in the Midwest. The competition from these upstarts caused price wars in several large markets, further eroding the profits of the established carriers. The future did not look bright for the major airlines, with five more cut-rate carriers scheduled to begin operations in the last half of 1981—Muse Air and Sun Air in the Southwest, Air Chicago in the Midwest, Sun Pacific and Pacific Express on the West Coast.

As for the air controllers union, the 75-50 plan caught it by surprise. Although PATCO leaders had heard rumors that a revision of the Carter plan was in the works, the Reagan Administration did not confirm these rumors in the final negotiating sessions preceding the strike, according to Dennis Reardon, a negotiator for the union. Asked whether PATCO would have gone on strike if the plan had been explained beforehand, Reardon said, "We may have questioned the validity of the information, but we would have seriously considered it in making a final decision. . . . We're not interested in jumping off a cliff and onto a sword."

But the sword was ready and the union jumped off the cliff on August 3. The controllers expected a short strike, a gesture that would dramatize their frustrations and put pressure on the Administration to bargain on key issues not addressed in the contract that their president, Robert Poli, had signed on June 22. Prominent among those issues were reduced hours, better equipment and an improved retirement plan. The striking controllers also assumed that their walkout would severely curtail commercial air traffic throughout the United States, causing the airlines to urge the government to settle quickly.

It was at this point that President Reagan issued his back-to-work ultimatum. When PATCO announced on July 31 that 95 percent of its members had voted in favor of a strike, the 75-50 plan was in jeopardy; the F.A.A. simply did not have enough controllers to make it work. If the President had not promised to fire the strikers, it is doubtful that the 3,500 PATCO members who crossed the picket lines would have done so, and air traffic would not have returned so quickly to near-normal levels. Even so, the F.A.A. had to pad its work force with retired and medically disqualified controllers, as well as reassign less-skilled military controllers to civilian airports. The major unknown in the 75-50 plan was thus resolved, and commercial flights returned to a semblance of what they had been before the strike.

In a meeting with PATCO leaders preceding the strike, Secretary of Transportation Drew Lewis had made no attempt to explain the 75-50 plan to the union; he had insisted that the Administration's original $40 million package was nonnegotiable. The proposed contract covered thirty-nine months and provided annual wage increases of about 2.2 percent above the 4.8 percent increase for all Federal employees scheduled to take effect on October 1, 1981.

The $40 million package, which Lewis formally offered on Saturday, June 20, was the only counterproposal the union had received since bargaining began in February. PATCO had set a strike deadline for June 22, but in a secret vote fewer than the 80 percent of the membership required by the union's by-laws had voted for a strike. Thus, Poli had little choice but to accept Lewis's offer.

When the contract was signed, the PATCO negotiators met the new F.A.A. chief, J. Lynn Helms, for the first time. They did not speak to him, however; he shook their hands without uttering a word. Until the Secretary of Transportation entered the negotiations at the end of April, Helms had remained aloof. On April 26, at the final bargaining session with the F.A.A., Helms's response was delivered to them. Reardon recalled, "Helms took four positions in response to our demands—No! no! no! and goddamn no!"

To say the least, the Administration had adopted a take-it-or-leave-it attitude in its bargaining with PATCO, although professional negotiators in labor disputes generally condemn this kind of behavior. The reaction of John Dunlop, Secretary of Labor under Gerald Ford, was typical: "What is absolutely without precedent, at least in modern times, is that [the Reagan Administration] has brought in no outside, dispassionate group to look at the problem. That ain't right. Also, the Administration has decided . . . to leave no avenue of escape for the union. You just don't do that."

Yet the roots of the strike lay deeper than the Administration's refusal to bargain. As long ago as October 1980, Raymond Van Vuren, director of air traffic for the F.A.A., had testified before a Congressional committee that an air controllers' strike was "inevitable." Why was Van Vuren so certain of this four months before negotiations had even begun? There is much evidence that the F.A.A. was spoiling for a showdown with its well-paid, independent-minded controllers.

In the early 1970s, worker-management relations grew so strained that the F.A.A. commissioned a $2.8 million study of employee morale. Over a five-year period, a team of fifty researchers, under the direction of Prof. Robert Rose of Boston University, conducted interviews, physical examinations and psychiatric tests of more than 400 controllers from New England and New York State. Their conclusion, however, was not welcomed by the F.A.A. "There seems to be considerable dissatisfaction among controllers with F.A.A. management," the team's final report said.

Among the findings:

§ Asked if they believed that good performance on the job was rewarded or led to promotions, more than 80 percent of the controllers said they did not.

§ In a standardized test used to determine employees' attitudes toward their superiors, the controllers rated their supervisors' "tolerance of freedom" lower than any other group tested—even below the ratings given by enlisted per-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WRITERS CONGRESS RECORD

The Dispossessed

"In the summer of 1965, both Malcolm X and Martin Luther King spoke at the black Methodist church at the corner of my street. It was hot, crowded and noisy, and every seat in that huge church both upstairs and downstairs was taken. There was no TV coverage, no radio broadcast, no press coverage. Hundreds of black people heard Malcolm give his ballots-or-bullets speech, saw him shake hands with King in spite of their serious differences, and we knew something about our lives that no conglomerate could affect or change. That was a cultural, social and political event of great import in the black community.

"Now I detect a shift in the ways I am shaped. It may be the result of the insidious and subtle workings of the culture industry, though I am not sure where to place the blame. I do know that if you pick up the newspaper to read about southern Africa, you are more likely to read about the dissatisfaction of the whites in Zimbabwe, who constitute 2 percent of the population, than about the struggles of Zimbabwe's 8 million black people. I know that a quarter of the news about Third World countries concerns violence, disasters and other negative distortions. I know that every television program about black life reduces us to an absurdity; if we're featured on TV, it's only to show us in relation to white people. I know these things are the result of the slick corporate giants making money off the backs and the spirits of us all, but the study and the teaching of literature has made me aware of my own responsibility for the images I allow to affect me."

"As I have considered what to say about the way the culture industry shapes the culture, I have carried around with me an image—a very powerful and disturbing image—of the several million black children in the United States who can barely read a word of anything any writer at this Congress has written or will ever write. A generation of illiterate black boys and girls—a black underclass, the great-great-grandchildren of slaves who are more enslaved than their foreparents ever were. . . . Ultimately, we all bear the responsibility for our connections with the dispossessed. What do we read? Where do we live? What do we write about? Where in our consciousness is that vast army—poor, young, colored, unread? What are we writing that will save them from the destruction that is planned for them?"

—Mary Ellen Washington, editor and teacher, American Writers Congress, October 9-12.

sonnel in the Army to their officers.

§ Another standardized test showed that the controllers felt they got less support from their bosses than any group save low-skilled blue-collar workers.

In short, there was considerable evidence that management bore much of the blame for employee morale and discipline problems. Yet the F.A.A. ignored the study team's recommendation that a "program be undertaken with joint union-management cooperation to improve work life."

As relations with management became more tense in the late 1970s, PATCO's membership grew, reaching 15,000 by 1980—almost 90 percent of the work force. Mounting restiveness among the rank and file also resulted in the January 1980 ousting of the union's longtime president, John Leyden, who was thought to be too moderate, and the election of the more militant Poli.

Following the creation of a management strike contingency force in March 1980—a full year before the contract expired—union members began experiencing increased harassment on the job. Minor, unintentional violations of work rules by PATCO members drew punishments, while similar infractions by nonmembers were ignored. In an extreme example of such harassment, a PATCO member in Miami was fired in May 1980 for "intentionally" directing an airplane into a storm. After a lengthy appeals process, an arbitrator ruled that there was no evidence that the controller had acted deliberately and ordered him rehired.

Management also began criticizing the union publicly. In June 1980, the chief of the Oakland, California, traffic control center declared on a radio talk show that PATCO did not care about air traffic safety. Soon after, the chief of the Spokane, Washington, tower refused to allow controllers to wear PATCO T-shirts to work. In both instances, unfair labor practice complaints filed by the union were upheld by the Federal Labor Relations Authority. The guilty supervisors were let off with warnings.

And so even before negotiations opened on February 12, 1981, the F.A.A. and the union were flying on a collision course. On the Administration's part, this course was deliberately chosen. As for PATCO, it may have been following a flawed flight plan, not expecting that the 75-50 scheme would restore air traffic to near-normal levels, not expecting President Reagan to issue his work-or-be-fired ultimatum, not expecting the airlines to come through as well as they have.

The major airlines stand to benefit most from the strike, because flight restrictions imposed by the F.A.A. will make it more difficult for the cut-rate carriers to gain a foothold in the marketplace. The big airlines have laid off employees, and, despite continued losses, the reduced flight schedules will enable them to cut costs, increase efficiency and consolidate their dominance in the market.

As for the air controllers, they have lost their jobs and seen their union destroyed. The only break in the President's obduracy has been his announcement that the controllers are eligible for other Federal jobs—cold comfort in a time of government retrenchment. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PEOPLE v. POWER LINES

The Rural Energy War—Report from The Front Lines

BARRY M. CASPER AND
PAUL DAVID WELLSTONE

For the past three years, farmers in western Minnesota have been engaged in a nocturnal guerrilla war against a power line on their lands. At the same time, members of rural electric cooperatives throughout the state are up in arms over steep increases in their electricity rates. Both rebellions are the result of a recently completed project to exploit Western coal, a resource being eyed hungrily by supply-side energy planners in Washington, D.C. What these planners have overlooked is the strong opposition their policies will provoke in rural America. The Minnesota experience suggests there will be an energy war in this country, and that rural citizens will be on the front lines.

The power line under seige runs 435 miles from a lignite coal strip mine and mine-mouth generating plant in central North Dakota to the outskirts of Minneapolis and St. Paul. The entire "C.U. Project"—strip mine, generating plant and power line—was built by two rural electric utilities, Cooperative Power Association (C.P.A.) and United Power Association (U.P.A.), and financed by long-term, low-interest loans arranged by the Rural Electrification Administration (R.E.A.).

The R.E.A., an agency of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, was created in 1936 to bring electricity to rural America. It was a widely acclaimed success. Democratically run local co-ops established so-called generation and transmission cooperatives (G&Ts) and, assisted by Federal loans and loan guarantees, completed their mission by the early 1950s.

Now, however, the G&Ts, including the C.P.A. and the U.P.A., are big businesses, linked in regional power grids with the investor-owned utilities and run by professional managers. Over time, co-op managers have developed close ties to the other utility managers and lost touch with their local members. As a result, the R.E.A., working with the private utilities on joint projects, has become a major source of funds for power development in the United States today.

When they were planning the North Dakota-Minnesota power line, co-op officials did not anticipate resistance by local residents. But the farmers, who saw their land being sacrificed to feed an already energy-glutted society, fought the new system every step of the way. They did not believe that the power line was needed. They resented the expropriation of 160-foot-wide swaths through their fields, and they hated the prospect of ugly 180-foot towers that would dominate the landscape. They were especially enraged by the Federal government's disregard for the rural environment and by the way it joined forces with the power companies.

From 1974 through 1977, the farmers tried every legal channel to block the power line. Public hearings were held with "full citizen participation," but the farmers found them an embittering and frustrating experience. They discovered that all they were permitted to say was, in effect, "Please put the power line on someone else's land."

The proposed power line would use a new technology, high-voltage *direct* current, instead of conventional alternating current. Many farmers expressed apprehension about the effect on their health of living near the line, but the experts for the utilities dismissed their fears, even though direct-current lines produce a cloud of air ions with ground-level concentrations that some scientists believe may be harmful to people and animals. The Minnesota Health Department proposed an epidemiological study comparing farmers living near the power line with a control group living farther away from it. The study would include an examination of hospital records and death certificates. According to a research protocol: "Over a period of years, a number of deaths and serious illnesses will occur in both groups, and the frequencies and kinds of illnesses can be compared in the two groups." Reading this, the farmers felt they were being used as guinea pigs.

The lengthy public hearing process did enable the protesting farmers to organize. In 1977, after the state had given the go-ahead, surveyors and construction crews attempted to start work on the power line, but hundreds of angry farmers blocked their way. In the winter of 1978, there were weeks of dramatic confrontations in the fields as Governor Rudy Perpich sent nearly half of Minnesota's highway patrol officers to protect the utilities' work crews. Construction was completed in the summer of 1978.

Elsewhere, when energy controversies reach this point, people usually give up. Not these Minnesota farmers. At night, towers were toppled by "bolt weevils," and the land near the towers was littered with glass from an epidemic of "insulator disease."

In the space of two years, fourteen towers were torn down and nearly 10,000 insulators shot out. Co-op officials termed it "vandalism"; the farmers called it "sabotage." Most local people sided with the farmers, and no arrests were made. Utility company security personnel and state police using helicopters were unable to stop the attacks. By the summer of 1980, the desperate utilities turned over ownership of the power line to the U.S. government so that the Federal Bureau of Investigation would have jurisdiction. Nevertheless, the resistance continues; the fifteenth tower came down last New Year's Eve, and the power line's long-term reliability is in doubt.

Barry M. Casper and Paul David Wellstone's book, Powerline: The First Battle of America's Energy War, *has recently been published by the University of Massachusetts Press. Casper is a physicist and Wellstone a political scientist at Carleton College in Minnesota.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why were these otherwise conservative and law-abiding citizens driven to such acts of rebellion? Farmers and other rural people are finding that their land and their way of life are threatened. When asked about their involvement in the power-line struggle, farmers almost invariably speak of a sense of responsibility to the land and a fear that they are losing control over their lives. Energy projects like the Minnesota power line can become symbols of the larger threats that many rural citizens now face. The answer is that U.S. energy policies and rural Americans are on a collision course.

A different kind of protest, less militant but more broadly based, is also taking place in Minnesota. In the summer of 1979, rural residents throughout the state were shocked to find that it was not just the farmers in the western part who would have to make sacrifices. Overnight, the electricity rates of these people doubled because the R.E.A. had arranged a $1.2 billion loan to finance the C.U. Project. When the power line went into operation in August 1979, the 300,000 co-op households began to pay off that loan.

In effect, each of these households had been compelled to make an energy investment of roughly $4,000. Their money had been invested for them in a very expensive technology. They had bought a piece of a coal mine, a power plant and a power line, when, had they been given a choice, they might have weatherized their homes or installed a wood stove instead. Or they could have used the money to experiment with alcohol production from farm residues.

Consider what it would take to give co-op members a real energy choice. One approach would be to change the mission of the R.E.A., which long ago accomplished its goal of lighting up rural America. Rechristened the Rural Energy Administration, the R.E.A. could undertake a new mission. Using the network of cooperatives that reaches into most rural communities, the R.E.A. could arrange for long-term, low-interest loans to finance a nationwide experiment in energy. The resourcefulness of rural citizens would be channeled into developing programs for energy efficiency and renewable resources that would be models for the nation.

Of course, powerful institutions and interests, including the G&Ts, the privately owned utilities and the R.E.A. itself, would resist this change. But co-op members could become a countervailing force. In Minnesota, groups are organizing in local co-ops to protest the rate increase connected with the C.U. Project. In the process, co-op members are realizing that they have lost control of their supposedly democratic organizations. Similar protests can be expected throughout the country as the R.E.A. continues its single-minded promotion of electric power. All the ingredients are present for a rural energy rebellion—except a common program. Redirecting the R.E.A. to a new mission appropriate to the nation's needs in the 1980s would be a natural focus for this rebellion. □

'MYTHS ABOUT THE MIDDLE EAST' Is Available At LOW BULK RATES

A special issue of *The Nation* (December 5) devoted to breaking the logomachy jam in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by subjecting the emotion-sodden rhetoric that weighs down current thinking to a blast of fresh ideas. With stereotype-toppling articles by Boas Evron, Edward Said, Christopher Hitchens, Sadik Al-Azm, Edward Mortimer and Michael Reisman.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

_____1 copy $3
_____10 copies $8
_____50 copies $30
_____100 copies $50
_____1,000 copies $300

Please make check or money order payable to *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.

POLITICAL VACUUM

Now Is the Time For a Party to Aid the Italians

NORMAN BIRNBAUM

Rome

It is easy enough to apply to Italy the familiar adage of the Fourth French Republic: "The situation is desperate, but not serious." There is, however, no Italian Charles de Gaulle in waiting, and no single lacerating problem like the Algerian war for independence. The recent wave of terrorism in Italy was apparently intended by its instigators (on the extreme left, on the extreme right and in the foreign and domestic intelligence services, acting mainly in collusion with the right) to destabilize the government. It failed to do so, possibly because there is little that terrorists can provoke that would be worse than the present corruption, inefficiency and unresponsiveness of the state apparatus and the dominant Christian Democratic (Democrazia Christiana, or D.C.) Party.

A viable opposition has not materialized in Italy. The Communists, excluded from power in 1978 by American pressure, have abandoned their hopes of a "Historical Compromise" with the D.C. In the logic of politics, this should open the way for an alliance with the Socialists and smaller secular parties. But these parties do not see any advantage for themselves in challenging American disapproval of Communists in the government, even though such an alliance would have considerable Catholic support. The Socialists in particular hope to capture the prime ministership soon, either by winning an election or as part of a new coalition government.

Their drive for the supreme office (they are already in-

Norman Birnbaum, a member of The Nation*'s Editorial Board, is University Professor of Humanities at the Georgetown University Law Center.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cluded in the present five-party coalition government) has been slowed recently by charges that Socialist leader Bettino Craxi accepted 21 million lira from a banker who had been convicted of illegal currency transactions. The amount demonstrates that the Socialists are proving themselves the equals of the Christian Democrats in corruption at least. The bribery charge remains unproven, but Craxi caused another furor by expelling some of his critics from the party. Meanwhile, the Communists—rent by internal dissension—turn slowly in circles, like a large ship with a stuck rudder.

The incapacity of the D.C. resulted in the prime ministership going to the historian and journalist Giovanni Spadolini of the small Republican Party. Spadolini too has his problems. The annual inflation rate is 20 percent, the lira is weak and, for all his pathetic appeals to the nation, Spadolini has been unable to arrive at an economic policy that can win the unions' approval. His foreign policy calls for unconditional alignment with the United States. He persuaded the Cabinet to offer troops for the Sinai peacekeeping force, and then, in order to stay on good terms with the Arab nations, he intimated that Italy might recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization. He agreed to the construction of a cruise missile base in Sicily, but after huge antinuclear demonstrations, the Defense Ministry asked for Italian participation in any decision to use the weapons through the installation of a double-key control system. Meanwhile, his coalition partners are assiduously and openly plotting his downfall and his replacement by Craxi. A member of Secretary of State Alexander Haig's staff, meanwhile, has been in Rome to tell the D.C. and the Socialists to make institutional reforms that would permanently exclude the Communists from government. The net effect of this mission was to infuriate President of the Republic Sandro Pertini and to embarrass the American Embassy, which was not consulted.

There have been fitful negotiations on future cooperation between the Christian Democrats and the Socialists, conducted in a manner calculated to humiliate Spadolini. Delegations from the two parties met recently amid diplomatic maneuvers worthy of a major international conference and presented detailed plans for the reform of the state about which the only certainty is that they will never be carried out. President Pertini does not think reform is possible without a consensus among all the parties—and the Communists refuse to give their assent. The D.C. and the Socialists are enthusiastic about one particular reform that would curb the independence of investigating magistrates. Given the threats of prosecution that menace top officials in both parties, one can understand their reformist zeal.

The views of the President are not at all irrelevant to the present situation in Italy. Pertini, an octogenarian who was jailed for years during Benito Mussolini's regime and is a veteran of the armed resistance against Fascism, is immensely popular. He recently castigated all the parties for tolerating corruption. He has let it be known that he will not agree to early elections, and he has conveyed his reservations about a pact between the Christian Democrats and the Socialists that would oust Spadolini. Spadolini enjoys a good deal more popularity than nearly all of his postwar predecessors because he projects honesty and rigor—what the Italians call *serietà*.

The President, and to a lesser extent the Prime Minister, are playing to a public opinion that is thoroughly disgusted with the parties and the political elite, which suffer simultaneously from disorientation and ossification. This applies to the Communist Party as well. The peace groups and the groups that advocate liberal divorce laws and abortion rights developed outside any party framework and act independently of the political elite. The peace movement has made the Socialists look ridiculous. After allowing their defense minister to accept the cruise missiles and denouncing the antinuclear protestors as inspired by Moscow, the party leaders felt compelled by an enormously successful demonstration in Rome to instruct the Socialist Mayor of Milan to lead a peace march in his city. The Communists, meanwhile, have seized on the antiwar mood in Europe to

MISSING SOMETHING?

If you were unable to attend some of the panels at the American Writers Congress, or even if you just want to hear distinguished writers such as Toni Morrison, E. L. Doctorow and Arthur Miller who participated in the panels and sessions at the Congress, *don't miss out*. Audio cassettes of the most dramatic events of the Congress are *now available* for individual, classroom and institutional use—for only $7.99 per cassette (plus handling).

Available tapes:

- ☐ Welcoming Address
- ☐ Eros, Language and Pornography
- ☐ How the Culture Industry Shapes Culture
- ☐ The Political Economy of the Culture
- ☐ Have Writers Discarded History?
- ☐ The Politics of Literacy
- ☐ Libel as a Political Weapon
- ☐ Theater as Popular Culture
- ☐ The Future of Investigative Reporting
- ☐ Self-Publishing Workshop
- ☐ Language as Ideology
- ☐ Working-Class Fiction
- ☐ Screenwriting
- ☐ Why a Union?
- ☐ *And Others!!!!*

Send $7.99 for each cassette to:
Cultural Products, Room 100, One Penn Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10001

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

(All orders add $1.50 postage • New York State residents add 8% tax • allow 8 weeks for delivery)

WC8147

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

proclaim a new foreign policy. This would entail an independent Europe, maintaining strong ties to the Third World, supporting movements like Solidarity in Poland and seeking to ease Soviet domination in Eastern Europe. But this policy would be difficult even for a government, and the Communists are not within sight of entering, much less constituting, a government. The party was surprised by the positive response to its reluctant participation in the peace movement (it feared being branded pro-Soviet). It has just made an emphatic protest at the suppresion of Solidarity. Still, its lack of coherence on domestic issues is more of an obstacle to its reconquest of lost terrain than is its foreign policy.

The Communist Party's recent shifts of strategy and tactics reflect a serious, if as yet unsuccessful, search for a radical politics suitable to a party capable of governing—an interclass party, that is, not a party representing only the working class. After all, in the past thirty years, the Communists' share of the vote has increased from about 20 percent to 30 percent. The party's electoral high point came in 1976, when it won more than 34 percent of the votes in the parliamentary elections. This share dropped, after the failure of the Historical Compromise and the rise of Red Guard terrorism, to 30 percent in the 1980 parliamentary elections. In the most recent local and regional elections, however, the party did poorly in the south and well in the north. This inconclusive showing reflects Italy's current political uncertainties.

But votes alone do not provide a true indication of the party's strengths. It has a solid base in several city governments (Genoa, Bologna, Florence, Rome and Turin have Communist mayors), in cultural institutions and the media and in the union movement (with the General Confederation of Italian Labor). Many state officials and even some military officers are Communists. The party is in the delicate position of serving as a force of opposition and as an integrating factor.

Still, it faces many problems, and its leader, Enrico Berlinguer, is under attack from the party's left and right wings. The left thinks that its criticism of the Historical Compromise has been justified by events: the D.C. never really intended to go through with it, and the Americans never would have given their permission in any event. The working class and the left have been disheartened and immobilized, and have lost confidence in the party's leadership. The victories of the French Socialists and of Andreas Papandreou in Greece also demonstrate that it is possible to develop an independent politics of the left despite American opposition; many Italians would welcome a genuine leftist alternative to the Communists.

The party's right taxes Berlinguer with inconsistency. Having abandoned compromise, it says, the party should aim at an *entente* with the Socialists and others. Instead, it employs an uncompromising rhetoric and encourages the Communist-led C.G.I.L. to take a hard line on proposed wage cuts. Consequently, it is increasingly isolated and in danger of further electoral losses.

The Socialists, after making a brilliant run for power under Craxi, now show signs of being winded. Their strength has been the fact that they are neither Christian Democrats nor Communists; their weakness has been their failure to develop a convincing program. Their share of the electorate in recent local elections was about 13 percent (an improvement of 4 percent over their performance in the last parliamentary contest). If they can maintain or improve upon this record in the next elections, they will hold the balance of power and Craxi will be prime minister.

But the Socialists are, if nothing else, masters of ambiguity. Now they make obeisance to François Mitterrand, now to the West German Social Democratic Party. They profess a reduced commitment to the Atlantic alliance while maneuvering the Communists into an isolated position of opposition to Euromissiles (isolated as compared with the other parties, but not in terms of public opinion), and they alternately promise militancy to the unions and a social compact to the entrepreneurs. In short, a profound tradition of democratic socialism has been reduced to a shifting set of tactical rationalizations. The Socialists, unlike the Communists, have been unable to modify their traditional anticlericalism and win support from the Catholic left. They have been badly scarred by their record in center-left governments—unable to effect significant reforms and liable to charges of clientelism or worse. Nevertheless, the Socialists include in their ranks some of the most vital ele-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ments in Italian society—especially union members and intellectuals. What is surprising is that in the vacuum created by the incapacity of the D.C. and the drift of the Communists, the Socialists have been unable to do better in the elections. Their curious role (national power through alliance with the D.C. and local and regional power by collaboration with the Communists) seems to allow limitless maneuvering but no firm line.

A discussion of the left should conclude with a brief reference to the Radical Party, which represents about 3 percent of the vote and has recently been conducting a campaign of parliamentary obstruction. The party stands for civil rights and a ferocious opposition to the authoritarianism of both Church and state and to the hierarchy of the established parties (including the parties of the left). Its moral force appears to be spent, but insofar as the Communists and the Socialists drift, it can be revived—draining the larger parties of needed energies.

As for the Christian Democrats, their present malaise has two causes: holding power uninterruptedly for thirty-five years and the spreading secularization of Italian culture and society. The D.C. is a shadow of itself, a party without ideas or morale whose remaining power and influence rests on its vast apparatus of patronage and on the loyalty of Italy's shrinking Catholic population. No wonder it readily ceded the prime ministership to the Republicans; it will very probably give it to Craxi after the next elections. Its tactic now is to give representatives of the secular parties the prime ministership and then work sedulously to sabotage them. At the last local and regional elections, the D.C.'s share of the vote shrank to 31 percent (it was 38 percent in the 1979 parliamentary elections). In Rome, the Communists obtained more votes than the D.C. Should this decline continue without a corresponding Communist upsurge, the way will indeed be open for a Socialist-led government. With the D.C. in it, however, it is unlikely to achieve much more than past governments.

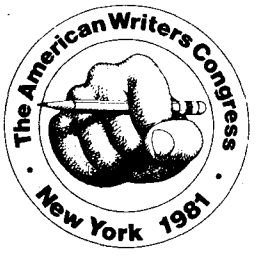
The profound trouble with the D.C. is that Italy is no longer a Catholic country. The Church marched to humiliating defeat recently in referendums on divorce and abortion. Pope John Paul II is thought by most Italian bishops to be remote from Italian reality; he comes, after all, from a truly Catholic nation. The most astute Italian Catholic political thinker, Jesuit Father Bartolomeo Sorge, believes that the Catholic populace must organize itself independently of the D.C., which has lost its spiritual bearings. Other Catholics think they can collaborate with the lay parties in the defense of common values. In any event, Italy is now like France two generations ago—a country in which practicing Catholics are a minority.

Postwar economic, social and cultural changes have produced a new generation of Italians who are remarkably different from the older one that endured Fascism. Many Italians demand a housecleaning in government—precisely what the ruling parties are unable to give them. The scandals, conspiracies and sordid affairs that led to the ousting of President Giovanni Leone and the jailing of several prominent former ministers are repellent to most Italians, and politicians are increasingly despised. To this must be added the widespread suspicion that terrorism has been manipulated, if not engendered, by the right in order to destabilize the country. A recent scandal involved a phony Masonic order that enlisted admirals and generals to resist Communist participation in the government. The instigator of the affair subsequently sold the secrets he had obtained from the military men to Rumania.

Perhaps the most significant recent development has been the agreement of the C.G.I.L. urged by its leader, Luciano Lama, to negotiate with the government on wages. Spadolini himself came to the C.G.I.L. congress in November (the first time a Prime Minister had done so) and assured the confederation that it was an indispensable interlocutor. Lama is now as influential as Berlinguer. Whether the present government can achieve an effective social compact is questionable. The D.C. can hardly break with its parasitic approach to state industry. It is unclear whether the union leadership (including the Catholic and Socialist unions) in the long run can contain the anger and disapointment of the working class. The American campaign against the Italian Communists, of course, renders the party's integrating role as difficult as its oppositional one. It is apparently too much to expect our government to show flexibility.

Our policy makers sometimes forget that the new Italian nationalism is largely Catholic and Western European in outlook, rather than exclusively secular. Catholic participation in the peace movement—certainly not discouraged by either the Vatican or the Italian Bishops' Conference—suggests that the new nationalism is already a powerful force. What will follow depends as much on developments north of the Alps as on American policy. It also depends on the capacity of a very angry Italian populace to assert its demand for honest and lucid government. As usual, the United States is stuck with the least prepossessing elements in Italian public life pretending to be its most faithful allies. □

AMERICAN WRITERS CONGRESS POSTERS



Designed by Walter Bernard, this beautiful four-color poster commemorates the American Writers Congress. The poster measures 18 x 26 inches and costs only $5.00 (includes postage and handling).

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Please make check or money order payable to The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011

WC8147

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OPENERS TO THE FAR EAST

Why the Nixon Library Is Good For Duke

TOM SCHLESINGER

When Terry Sanford, president of Duke University, invited Richard Nixon to locate his Presidential library on the Durham, North Carolina, campus, was he playing a China card of his own? The connection between Sanford's offer of Duke's hospitality to the former President's homeless library and the fact that several businessmen with close ties to the university are seeking to exploit the Chinese market may seem remote. But Duke's corporate involvements are so multifarious that questions about a possible link are inevitable.

But one need not look halfway around the world to find the economic benefits to the university of an association with Nixon. The Presidential library would be a magnet for tourists, and there happen to be two projects in which Duke is involved that would benefit handsomely from tourism. Although the university owns more than 8,000 acres of land in several counties, the proposed library site is adjacent to its law and business schools and, of more significance, not far from where two new hotels are being built.

One of these is a $30 million hotel on the Duke golf course, less than a mile south of the library, which Dallas developer Trammell Crow will own and operate in partnership with the university. Half a mile north, near a proposed expressway extension, an $11 million Sheraton Inn is being constructed on land purchased from a Duke law school professor. Sanford has enthusiastically supported both ventures, and although the decision to build was made before the Nixon Library was announced, the tourism it will generate cannot help but provide an economic cushion for the hotels. More than 1.7 million people visit Presidential libraries annually; the L.B.J. Library in Austin, Texas, and the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston each drew more than a half million visitors last year. Fewer than 1 percent of them were scholars interested in combing through the Presidential paperwork; the rest were tourists.

Ever since it was founded nearly sixty years ago by tobacco magnate Buck Duke, the university has had a strong probusiness orientation (the newspaperman W. J. Cash once quipped that the school turned out Babbitts as fast as the machine Buck Duke had invented rolled cigarettes). Duke has millions of dollars to invest; it owns an office complex in Raleigh, and has interests in electronics companies in Massachusetts and oil land in Colorado. Sanford has aggressively involved the university in the fortunes of Durham's business community; he founded the Durham Progress Group and, as a member of the board of directors of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, was responsible for the decision of the Sheraton Corporation, one of its subsidiaries, to revive its plans for a 300-room hotel and civic center in downtown Durham. (The Duke venture is a franchise operation.) And the proposed expressway extension, which has long been supported by the university because it would provide easier access to Duke Hospital, would also serve as a conduit for tourists bound for the Nixon Library. (The only people opposed to the expressway extension are the black residents who would be displaced by it.)

Sanford and his partner, W. Clay Hamner, a Duke business school professor, own a Durham shopping center and a downtown office building. Sanford's 28-year-old son, Terry Jr., and Hamner own Brightleaf Square, a pair of tobacco warehouses near Duke's east campus that have been converted to shops and offices. Sanford's ample credit line at local banks helped finance the venture.

One might go on, but the point should be clear. The Nixon Library is "good business" for Sanford, for Duke and for Durham. For that reason alone, Sanford's willingness to absorb the flak his decision drew makes sense. But another of Sanford and Duke's business ventures—this one in China—could also benefit from the university's association with a man the Chinese, at least, still revere.

Duke sent its first delegation to the People's Republic of China in 1975. It was led by Margaret Rose Sanford (her husband was preoccupied with a Presidential bid at the time) and Dr. William Anlyan, chief of the vast medical complex around which the Duke-Durham economy revolves. The university announced that funding for the trip had been "raised privately." In what would become the practice in all future Duke visits, the delegation included people representing educational, medical and commercial interests.

Among those making the first trip was Duke trustee Edwin Whitehead, founder and chief executive officer of the Technicon Corporation, a hospital and laboratory supply company that is a subsidiary of Revlon, and one of the richest men in the country. A year before the trip to China, he announced his intention to fund a $100 million medical research institute at Duke that would bear his name. (Whitehead subsequently decided to locate the institute at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.) While other

Tom Schlesinger is a carpenter and freelance journalist currently doing research on ties between the military and the construction industry.

HOLIDAY SCHEDULE

Because of the holidays, we will skip next week's issue of *The Nation*. We resume publication with the issue dated January 2-9. We take this opportunity to wish our readers good health and good fortune in the coming year.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

members of the delegation took in educational and cultural points of interest, Whitehead and Anlyan concentrated on visiting China's medical and industrial facilities. Anlyan was impressed by the Chinese use of herbs in the treatment of leukemia. "The know-how of the pharmaceutical industry in the U.S.," he said, combined with Chinese folk wisdom, "presents an avenue of potential collaboration between the two countries."

Academic-medical-business collaboration has been central to Sanford's China policy ever since that first trip. At the heart of this collaboration was a scheme devised by Joseph Kennedy, a Durham consultant whose children attend Duke. Kennedy's idea was simple: Chinese medical facilities are underdeveloped. American corporations, anticipating a rise in tourism to China, want to build hotels there. So why not have American firms build hospitals in China? In return, the Chinese would allow the same developers to build hotels.

Kennedy promoted this idea in both countries. In time, Sanford, Duke, various Chinese governmental ministries and several U.S. corporations became involved. The main player was I.T.T.'s Sheraton. Duke, with its ties to I.T.T., corporate medicine and China, acted as broker. Nanjing, a commercial city of 3 million people near Shanghai, was chosen as the site of the first hotel. To add an academic aura to the project, Duke's Oral History Program agreed to assist Chinese scholars gathering material on the Chinese Revolution.

In the fall of 1980, soon after Sanford began considering the Nixon Library, Duke arranged an unusual mission to China. This time, the money for expenses was put up by Sheraton, the North Carolina National Bank (N.C.N.B.) and the American Hospital Supply Corporation. The hospital corporation's founder, Foster McGaw, a former member of the Duke Medical Center Board of Visitors, had contributed $196,000 to the Committee to Re-elect the President in 1972, the largest contribution from the health-care industry. (For that matter, Sheraton had given the city of San Diego $200,000 to help defray the costs of the 1972 Republican National Convention. As a memo by former lobbyist Dita Beard revealed, the contribution was tied to I.T.T.'s settlement of an antitrust case brought by the Justice Department.) American Hospital Supply's president, Karl Bays, is a Duke trustee, and the university will soon be earning an estimated $1 million annually from royalties on an invention of a Duke physiologist that will be marketed by Bays's corporation. Hamner, who oversaw the financial aspects of the China trip, said that the three companies spent between $40,000 and $50,000 for the junket.

The Duke delegation was divided into two waves. First, there was an advance party with oral historians William Chafe and Lawrence Goodwyn, Duke's academic dean and her husband, and a Harvard Sinologist. After them came Hamner's main delegation, which included Duke Hospital administrators, Sheraton vice president Donald Stephenson, American Hospital Supply's vice president George Harris, N.C.N.B. chairman Hugh McColl and assorted translators.

The North Carolina National Bank maintains a Hong Kong office and is one of a few dozen U.S. banks (and the only North Carolina bank) to have a direct relationship with China's central bank. According to Sanford, N.C.N.B. "would have been involved in the financing" of the hotels-hospitals deal, although, he added, the project would have required "massive financing and probably involved the World Bank." According to Hamner, Duke would have received 4 percent of the hotels' profits as its share in the deal. Hamner said that university counsel Eugene McDonald—who is representing Duke in negotiations for the Nixon Library—"worked out some kind of a formula" to arrive at the 4 percent and "had the documents all drawn up." Sanford told friends that the Nanjing hotel would bring in even more money to the university than Trammell Crow's golf course hotel.

The trip, however, was only partially successful. Duke's relationship with Nanjing's academic community still looks promising, though the oral history venture appears to be in limbo. But the hotel venture fell through. Although a Chinese delegation visited Duke last January, by August the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

venture had been abandoned. However, Sheraton vice president Philip Shea, who confirmed the outlines of the deal, said that the company had not given up on building hotels in China.

Though Sheraton's scheme has apparently gone the way of many other Chinese bonanzas envisioned by U.S. businesses, interest in that part of the world among other firms with ties to Duke remains strong. This is especially true of drug and medical-supply companies like Technicon, American Hospital Supply and Pfizer, all of which have representatives on Duke's board of trustees. In 1979, Pfizer shipped an order of expensive whole-body tomographic X-ray scanners to China. The company's chief executive officer, Edmund Pratt, a Duke trustee, is chairman of the Emergency Committee for American Trade, a group of chief executive officers of sixty-four American firms that promotes U.S. exports and overseas investments. The committee's vice president, Cal Cohen, has said, "We would like to see wider and broader trade with the people of the P.R.C."

Another Duke trustee, Atlanta industrialist J. B. Fuqua, has extensive business interests in China. Fuqua gave $10 million to Duke's new business school, which is named after him. Recently, he invested in a $5 million apartment complex near Durham with Hamner. For the past two years, Fuqua Industries has provided the Chinese with capital, equipment and materials for manufacturing a wide variety of recreational products. Fuqua, who has called China "the best labor market in the world," says that his company will invest in additional product lines on the basis of "high labor content." He attributes his company's success in China to the fact that "we got in early and we got in for real and we showed the color of our money. . . . We expect volume to increase indefinitely."

What impact, if any, would the presence of a Richard Nixon Library in Durham have on the business interests of people with ties to Duke who are trying to open the door to trade with China? Sanford says there is "no earthly connection." Fuqua, who supports the library, says that his companies' activities in China are entirely unrelated to Duke.

But Nixon remains a revered figure in China. Orville Schell, author of several books on China who has lived and traveled extensively in the country, says, "They treat Nixon exactly the way they treat Stalin." A Central Intelligence Agency analyst who specializes in China notes that "associating with Nixon presumably would provide a kind of halo effect. A letter of introduction from Nixon to anyone in China would certainly open a lot of doors." And so, not surprisingly, Durham pundits are beginning to wonder if Sanford might be investing a piece of Duke's good name and its real estate toward Nixon's civic rehabilitation in hopes of using his halo in future dealings by Fuqua, Bays, Pratt and Sanford with China. □

Support the Polish Workers Buy a Solidarność T-shirt and Button

Clip and Send to:
Polish Workers Task Force
275 Seventh Avenue 25-F
New York, New York 10001

☐ I would like __ Solidarność button(s) at $1.00 each
☐ I would like __ Solidarność T-shirt(s) at $5.00 each
☐ I would like to contribute ____ dollars to the Polish Workers Task Force
☐ I would like more information on how I can help the Polish workers.

Please make checks payable to: **Polish Workers Task Force.**
Proceeds go to AFL-CIO Polish Workers Aid Fund.
(Please include $1.50 per order for postage and handling.)

The Tanks

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

uniformed announcers on Polish radio and television were only too glad to report the indifference of Western officialdom. President Ronald Reagan did not think the crisis was important enough to interrupt his weekend; Brussels talked of ending anarchy, Bonn of the need to show circumspection. Western honor was saved on this occasion by its workers. European labor movements staged protest strikes and mass demonstrations to show their solidarity with their Polish counterparts. With the exception of those in France, European Communists were active in these protests.

There will be plenty of time to examine why the hopes raised in August of last year have been dashed, to analyze the illusions of Solidarity and the calculations of the rulers. Now it is enough to recall that at the heart of this confrontation lies the problem of the Communist Party's refusal to give up its monopoly of power. Immediately after the victory of the Gdansk strikers last year, there was a widespread belief that the government would govern and that the union would defend the interests of the workers, but the economic crisis crushed such hopes. The government had to introduce unpalatable reforms. It could do so only with the blessing of Solidarity, and the union, understandably, did not wish to be saddled with the responsibility for

Daniel Singer is a freelance writer born in Poland and based in Paris. He is the author of The Road to Gdansk *(Monthly Review Press).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unpopular programs without a share of the power.

The only solution lay in a compromise between Poland's social forces and the imperatives of geography. Solidarity had to grasp that there could be, at best, a creeping revolution, a gradual assumption of power. The party had to resign itself to the idea that the days of its monopoly were over. There was a time when it seemed that a system of dual power could be institutionalized. One parliamentary chamber was to remain dominated by the Communist Party, the other was to be controlled by representatives of the workers' councils in factories and offices. On November 4, when Solidarity leader Lech Walesa met General Jaruzelski, with Archbishop Jozef Glemp acting as middleman, this compromise still seemed possible. A few days later, Solidarity was offered one of seven seats on a national council packed with puppet parties and phony unions representing the government. Both sides then raised their stakes, and the confrontation was on.

In spite of foreign indifference and the sermons of moderation preached by the leaders of the Catholic Church, the military's triumph was not unalloyed. It is one thing to threaten workers with a gun and quite another to get them to work. Men and women who have just tasted freedom and rediscovered their collective power will not easily be bullied into obedience. Solidarity had an emergency plan that, after the initial shock, it put into practice. The few leaders who had managed to escape the Saturday night swoop of the police in Gdansk set up a national committee, provisionally led by Miroslaw Krupinski, called for a general strike and occupied mines and factories.

The only hope is that once both sides have made a show of their strength, the junta will enter into serious negotiations with Walesa and his comrades, after freeing them from detention and recognizing them as the leaders of a union with nearly 10 million members—the bulk of the working people in Poland.

My friends in Warsaw, Wroclaw, Gdynia and Gdansk are either in jail or in hiding. They run grave risks and struggle with their consciences. Unable to help them, impotent, I can only curse their enemies, the uniformed and jackbooted party champions of law and order, and recall what Poland's greatest socialist fighter once said: "Order reigns in Warsaw. . . . You stupid lackeys. Your order is built on sand. . . ." In these words, Rosa Luxemburg asserted the perenniality of revolution. Yes, the military's order is built on sand—and on social injustice. The Gdansk strikers revealed this to the world, including their comrades throughout Eastern Europe. The Polish proletariat opened the breach and showed a way. At the same time it raised the hope that the indispensable transformation from below may be carried through, not smoothly or peacefully, but without a bloody confrontation. It is only this last possibility that is now in question. Jaruzelski and his henchmen should know that tanks can at most delay the course of history and that sometimes they can have the opposite effect. Exactly eleven years ago the workers from the Lenin shipyards, the pioneers in this unfinished struggle for freedom, were being shot by Polish internal security forces. □

ADVERTISEMENT

OLLMAN v. THE UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND: A LANDMARK CASE IN ACADEMIC FREEDOM (and WINNABLE)

THE FACTS OF THE CASE

On March 15, 1978, Professor Bertell Ollman was offered the position of Chairman of the Department of Government and Politics at the University of Maryland (College Park) by the Provost with the full approval of the Chancellor. Ollman, a professor at New York University and author of the book, *Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society*, was selected over 100 or so other candidates by a faculty search committee.

More than a dozen Maryland state legislators, including the Chairmen of all the committees that deal with the University's budget, protested the appointment. Acting Governor Blair Lee dubbed it "unwise," saying "it may kick up quite a backlash." Several conservative syndicated columnists condemned the apointment, and at least three members of the University's Board of Regents made public their objections. Samuel Hoover, for example, said, "I just don't think a Marxist should be at a state institution in a position of that caliber."

Outgoing President of the University of Maryland Wilson Elkins held off making any decision; and on July 19, 1978, incoming President John Toll finally rejected the appointment. Denying that Professor Ollman's Marxist views had anything to do with the decision, President Toll claimed that he had acted solely on academic grounds, but he refused to state what these were.

THE TRIAL

During the month-long trial, which began on May 18, 1981, considerable evidence was brought forward of political pressure on Presidents Elkins and Toll not to appoint Ollman, and of the interest both men showed in the views of politicians on this matter. In his testimony, President Toll finally gave the main "academic grounds" on which his decision was based: Ollman, he said, has "poor administrative judgment." As evidence for this, he cited two anti-Vietnam War political activities that Ollman is alleged to have taken part in in 1970.

THE VERDICT

Judge Alexander Harvey III, a member of one of Maryland's leading banking families, found for the defendants. Praising the great achievements of Presidents Elkins and Toll as educators, the judge said he did not believe that they would lie about their actions.

THE APPEAL

An appeal can be won, and this would be a great help to radicals involved in other academic freedom cases. Judge Harvey made a number of serious judicial errors. For example, he ruled as irrelevant all evidence pertaining to the standards President Toll used in appointing department chairmen in his 16 years as a university president (13 at SUNY-Stony Brook and 3 at Maryland). This deprived Ollman of a base from which to show that he was being treated in a unique manner and judged from a standard that did not apply in other similar appointments.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CASE

The rejection of Ollman's appointment under blatant political pressure, the decision of the Court and the way this decision was reached have all contributed to a chilling atmosphere for academic freedom in America's universities. This is especially true in light of the widespread publicity that this case has received. Moreover, the ruling not to hear evidence of the sort that is usually considered essential in discrimination cases gives important support to administrators who deviate from accepted norms when dealing with hiring, firing, tenure or promotion. Whatever the final judgment on Ollman, this ruling cannot be allowed to stand.

YOUR HELP IS NEEDED NOW

Ollman's lawyers are working *pro bono*, but he is responsible for various "incidental expenses." The immediate need is for $15,000 to $20,000 (which he does not have) to type out the month-long trial transcript in order to begin the process of appeal. If progressives and others concerned with issues of academic freedom cannot help out in cases of such flagrant abuse, the time will quickly come when no one will want or be financially able to seek legal redress for any discriminatory practice. What will reactionary administrators unleash then? Both solidarity and enlightened self-interest require that Ollman be supported in his/our struggle. Please give generously—and pass this appeal on (include it in letters to friends).

Make checks out to: NECLC—Ollman Case, and send to National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 175 Fifth Ave., N.Y., N.Y., 10010. (Donations are tax deductible.)

Supporters of this appeal include Paul Sweezy and Harry Magdoff (*Monthly Review*), Frances Fox Piven (Boston U.), Jim O'Connor (U. Calif.), Immanuel Wallerstein (SUNY-Binghamton), Sheldon Wolin (Princeton), Sam Bowles (U. Mass.), Bert Gross (CUNY-Hunter), C.B. MacPherson and Christian Bay (U. Toronto), Ted Lowi (Cornell), Peter Bachrach (Temple), Michael Parenti (I.P. S.), Ben Barber (Rutgers), Murray Edelman (U. Wis.), Scott Nearing (first person fired for his radical ideas at an American university—U. Penn., 1915).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Remembering the Answers

ALAN WALD

As a Marxist historian and teacher of left-wing political culture, I followed the radical press's coverage of the October 9-12 American Writers Congress in New York City with considerable interest. I was searching for signs that the left was overcoming its perennial difficulty in explaining the connections between politics and culture. What I found instead was a strong and understandable desire to forge links with past traditions of politico-cultural commitment, but this good will toward radical ancestors was mixed with an all too familiar reluctance to acknowledge the ambiguities present in those very traditions.

My concern is not with the Congress itself but with the linking of the Congress through its name and by historical reference to an earlier organization, the League of American Writers, initiated by the Communist Party. The League was founded in 1935 and collapsed in 1941—collapsed, not because of any pressure from the right but in disgrace because of the mass defection of both radical and liberal writers who felt that it had too often subordinated culture to political expediency. While cultural historians of the right seem capable of responding to this legacy only by Red-baiting, much of the left seems to exhibit the equally superficial responses of evasion, amnesia and the creation of sentimental myths.

For example, Margot Cohen and Dave Lindorf [see "Writers' Unions: Solidarity—Ever?" *The Nation*, October 3] made reference to the manipulative presence of the Communist Party at earlier Congresses but failed to explain the precise political purpose of this manipulation (was it simply a power play by the party or were more serious issues at stake?) or even to mention that these Congresses created and enforced a certain type of cultural style on the left. On the other hand, *The Guardian* ("Writers Congress Calls for Unity," October 21) simply quoted Meridel LeSueur's idealized recollection that the Congresses of the 1930s "struggled against war, against fascism, and for civil liberties."

I was particularly frustrated by Josh Kornbluth's report in *In These Times* ("Scenes from a Congress," October 21-27), which offered the following reminiscence of one-time American Newspaper Guild organizer Paul Romaine: "Romaine chaired the plenary session of the Second Writers Congress in '37, at which a small group of writers led by James T. Farrell made a motion to raise the proletarian banner by singing the 'Internationale.' Romaine, himself a Communist but dedicated to a 'united front,' was thrilled when like-minded participants rejected the motion on the grounds that it would alienate non-leftists. 'That showed the consciousness of the writers present—how united they were against war and fascism. It was a very good sign.' " Thus the myth that the American Writers Congresses of the past wedded politics to culture in a salutary unity—a unity that we might well emulate today—is perpetuated by a newspaper that, ironically, hopes to initiate a new socialist movement in this country that won't repeat the mistakes of its predecessors.

Kornbluth and Romaine's "history lesson" demonstrates on a small scale the familiar deficiency of intellectual curiosity I have noted in discussions about the politics of culture on the left. Romaine's anecdote was told to suggest that radical critics of this remarkable instance of antifascist unity in the 1930s must have been, like Farrell, perverse left sectarians. But anyone who reads histories of the Congresses will discover that Farrell's proposal to sing the "Internationale" was made not at the 1937 Congress but at the 1935 Congress—which was held just before the Popular Front was announced—and that it was not rejected by the delegates but approved. Farrell, a pro-Communist sponsor and speaker at the first Congress in 1935, was motivated by cultural as well as political concerns. Much admired by the younger people at the gathering, Farrell was angered by the Congress's decision to exclude from membership the unknown and working-class writers (many of whom were from ethnic minorities) who had been organized into the John Reed Clubs to pioneer a new radical culture. This decision stemmed from the party's desire to make the League into a showcase for the big-name writers whose cultural achievements many non-Communist radicals regarded as debauched by commercialism.*

As for the 1937 Popular Front Congress, Farrell was simply not present, and this time the explanation is primarily political: while the Congress allowed dissent within certain perimeters, neither Farrell nor any other radical American writer who had dared to criticize the Moscow Purge Trials was invited. As the *Socialist Call* (June 5, 1937) pointed out, "The primary test by which writers were chosen to take part in this Writers Congress was not their moral and intellectual and literary standing, but their attitude toward the Moscow Trials." Instead of independent Marxists and left-liberals such as Farrell, John Dewey and Edmund Wilson, figures such as Romaine—who publicly lauded the trials' verdict that resulted in the executions of thousands of Soviet dissidents (*Daily Worker*, August 28, 1938)—were given positions of authority.

My concern here is not to rehash the history of the 1930s, and it is certainly not to suggest that the excoriation of earlier writers' movements should have been a purpose of the latest Writers Congress, which had its own, more pressing, priorities. But I want to draw attention to the failure of many radicals and others to come to grips in a thoughtful way with the inherent political dimensions of all cultural phenomena. It is precisely this connection between politics and culture that the recent mythologizing of the earlier American Writers Congresses seeks to oversimplify or ignore. The 1935 shift away from a cultural orientation that claimed to support needy and unknown

Alan Wald teaches American culture at the University of Michigan and is the author of James T. Farrell: The Revolutionary Socialist Years *(New York University Press).*

* Richard Wright wrote bitterly about this policy switch in *American Hunger* (1977) and elsewhere. Kornbluth is also incorrect in referring to the Communist policy as "United Front" instead of "Popular Front," but that's the subject of a different essay.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

writers was intrinsically linked to the Communist leaders' political desire to engineer a pseudo-unity with liberals based on the lionization of figures like Ernest Hemingway and Archibald MacLeish as antifascist heroes of the people. It was fear of disturbing what appeared to be a successful alliance, and scaring off the superstars as well as the liberals they attracted, that caused many sincere leftists to rationalize the fact that thousands of unnamed and unsung "Trotskyites," "Zinovievites," "Bukharinites," anarchists, POUMists and innocent bystanders were being executed by the same Stalinist political movement in the Soviet Union and Spain.

Many radicals of the 1930s may be excused for not having recognized the political implications of this aspect of the radical cultural movement at the time. But left-wing cultural historians of the present will lose their credibility and moral authority if they continue to gloss over the politics of Communist-initiated cultural activities in their attempt to make the traditions of American radicalism into a usable past. There is sufficient scholarly material to clarify the record on these matters, but perhaps the ascendancy of the right has made many radicals unwilling to ask basic questions.

Three biographies of cultural figures associated with the Communist Party that were published this year confirm that radical cultural history has simply reached an impasse in this respect. David E. Shi's *Matthew Josephson* (Yale University Press), William Alexander's *Film on the Left* (Princeton University Press), which is in part a collective biography of the radical film makers Sam Brody, Leo Hurwitz, Ben Maddow, Ralph Steiner and Paul Strand, and David King Dunaway's *How Can I Keep From Singing: Pete Seeger* (McGraw-Hill) all exhibit the liberal or radical historian's characteristic uneasiness about the relationships among politics, culture and American Communism. Shi and Alexander, both of whom are competent scholars and present important information about their subjects, depart from their usual high standards when discussing the politics of culture on the left. Shi adds little to David Caute's *The Fellow-Travellers: A Postscript to the Enlightenment*, which describes radical intellectuals as heirs of the eighteenth-century humanist and rationalist traditions. Alexander rallies sympathy for ambiguous "progressive" causes while expressing weak reservations about the Soviet Union's "repressive measures"—a euphemism for mass murder, frame-up trials and torture.

Dunaway's book, the most drastic example of this phenomenon, deserves attention because Seeger is still active and personifies for many of us the committed cultural figure of the left. Dunaway does provide a good deal of information about the evolution of contemporary folk music in association with left-wing politics since the 1930s, but his scholarship is virtually useless as an account of Stalinist Communism and the cultural style of the Popular Front—two related factors that were crucial to his protagonist's development. Even worse, Dunaway is hopelessly confused, and confusing, in his attempt to explain Seeger's peculiar relation to the Communist Party. And this is so in spite of the book jacket's boast: "Here, for the first time, [is] an inside history of . . . Seeger's involvement with the Communist Party."

Dunaway's problem is not his political bias but his inability to confront the political nature of certain cultural phenomena. He depicts the pioneer of the contemporary folk-song movement as a man refreshingly simple in his moral values but outrageously simple-minded in the translation of those values into political loyalties. He admires Seeger for his empathy with rural and urban working people, his courageous stand against the 1950s blacklist, his popularization of the "citybilly" music that was forged through his collaboration with Woody Guthrie, and his front-line participation in the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements.

At the same time, Dunaway's version of Seeger's association with the Communist Party repeatedly hints at some profound defect in Seeger's integrity or intelligence without providing a forthright explanation or analysis. After joining the Communist movement while a student at Harvard in the late 1930s, Seeger wrote lyrics that coincided with the "radical patriotism" of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. But when the Hitler-Stalin pact was announced in 1939, Seeger and his first singing group, the Almanacs, accommodated themselves to the new party line by performing songs *against* Roosevelt and his war preparations. In the third stage of this tortured progression, after Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, the Almanacs followed party dictates once more, producing chauvinistic pro-war songs and putting "Talking Union" on the back burner so as not to contradict the party's vigorous support of the no-strike pledge. Seeger was apparently shaken by these rapid transmogrifications but, unlike some others of his generation, failed to conclude that the party's policies might be retarding more than advancing the struggle for socialism. Dunaway states, "Opposing the pact would have cut him off from friends and jobs in New York. The Soviet Union's *Realpolitik* was hard to overlook, but Seeger had forced himself."

According to the narrative we are given, Seeger never really "broke" with the party. Dunaway claims that he dropped his membership at the beginning of the witch-hunt era "more from an instinct of self-preservation than any political difference." As the biography explains, Seeger abstained from public criticism of the party and therefore had the privilege of not being denounced as a "renegade." Thus he remained silent about the Soviet Union's massacre of Hungarian dissidents in 1956 and its invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. But Dunaway does not tell us whether or not Seeger was suppressing substantive criticisms. After examining voluminous notebooks and journals and conducting 110 interviews, Dunaway tells us that Seeger never said anything harsher of the whole Stalin era than that it involved "an awful lot of rough stuff." His only recorded objection to Soviet society (which he witnessed on several tours) concerns "a few polluted lakes and the Siberian weather." Dunaway is disturbed by this feature in a man he otherwise admires, but not sufficiently so as to present us with anything more than an ingenuous conclusion: "Pete always had a blind spot to the excesses of socialism-in-the-making."

This statement, appearing at the end of *How Can I Keep From Singing*, might have been a satisfactory conclusion for a newspaper journalist who had undertaken a one-shot interview for a Sunday magazine supplement. A cultural historian should have acknowledged that it is the familiar cliché about Communists and their fellow-travelers, one that begs to be analyzed. Shi uses a similar formulation in describing Josephson: "Josephson was . . . the victim of moral blind spots." Although

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this way of putting it places Josephson himself, rather than the dead and the imprisoned, in the role of "victim" of his moral blind spots, Shi at least tries to account for this behavior. Dunaway's study never even gets around to asking the most fundamental question about Seeger's relation to the Communist Party since his membership lapsed: Has Seeger remained a convinced Stalinist or does he have important differences with the party which he refrains from expressing for fear of giving ammunition to the right? Or is Seeger just a naïve do-gooder, someone who took the Popular Front view that "Communism is Twentieth-Century Americanism" too literally?

It is clear from Dunaway's book, and from other reports, that Seeger is an enigmatic figure who closely guards his personal life; he is a man who appears anti-intellectual and warm-hearted in public life, but who is said to be quite otherwise in private. Many biographers have had to distinguish their subject from his or her mask, and the enigma of Seeger and his mask is an especially crucial one for radical cultural historians to explore. Not only does he share a history with as many as a million other Americans who were at one time either supporters or members of the party but he is a living link between the experience of Great Depression leftism and the political radicalism of our own time.

Furthermore, the search for facts about the nature of Seeger's Communism should not be regarded as a destructive endeavor, an attempt to undermine or discredit. There are many things to admire in Seeger and we need to understand him. Wherever there has been a struggle for social justice in the United States since the 1950s, Seeger has been there. His refusal to attack the Communist Party has been coupled with a very un-Communist refusal to attack other groups on the American left.

I suspect that liberal and radical biographers such as Shi, Alexander and Dunaway are evasive in their assessments of American Communism and the politics of culture because they cannot imagine an analysis that is neither Red-baiting nor pro-Communist; in all instances they fail to understand, or to believe, that Stalinism can be condemned from a militantly anticapitalist or revolutionary Marxist perspective.

The recurring pattern in these three books, as well as in other recent works about politics, culture and American Communism—for example, Bruce Cook's *Dalton Trumbo* and Malcolm Cowley's *The Dream of the Golden Mountains: Remembering the 1930s*—is the failure to provide a clear view of either the nature of American Communism or the Popular Front culture celebrated and codified at the Writers Congresses of the 1930s and 1940s. The fact is that Popular Front culture meant the abandonment by radical intellectuals of their traditional association with vanguard ideas for the sake of creating a popular art that would reach a mass audience on much the same terms as the commercial mass culture created by capitalism already did. As Robert Warshaw pointed out in 1947 in his essay "The Legacy of the Thirties," this sort of cultural practice embodies a major ambiguity. On the one hand, it can raise the level of popular art; on the other hand—and Warshaw believed that this came to be the predominant feature—it can "distort and eventually destroy the emotional and moral content of experience, putting in its place a system of conventionalized 'responses.' In fact, the chief function of mass culture is to relieve one of the necessity of experiencing one's life directly." The ambiguities involved in the creation of simplified and conventionalized responses are central to an understanding of the political nature of Popular Front culture; they are crucial to our assessment of Josephson's popular histories, several of the late-1930s films discussed by Alexander, and Seeger's songs.

In 1970 Nathan Glazer published a collection of essays called *Remembering the Answers*. Its title comes from an anecdote reported in Norman Podhoretz's autobiographical memoir, *Making It*: "William Phillips [editor of *Partisan Review*] once told the New-Left minded English critic Kenneth Tynan that he could not argue with him about politics, because Tynan's arguments were so old that he, Phillips, could no longer remember the answers." Glazer's book is important mainly for its documentation of the author's transformation from a "1950s radical" into a neoconservative, but the concern with the historical record reflected in his title should be ours as well. A body of knowledge has accumulated about the experience of American radicalism in cultural matters. Radical cultural his-

Noam Chomsky:
RADICAL PRIORITIES
Edited by C.P. Otero

In a new collection of the political writings of Noam Chomsky, Carlos-Peregrin Otero brings together some of the most outstanding reflections of the world-famous linguist. This is the first edition of essays to appear of Chomsky's writings since 1973. What is particularly significant about this collection is that C.P. Otero lucidly presents an analysis and overview of Chomsky's social and political philosophy. For the first time the roots of Chomsky's politics are examined in relationship to his theory of linguistics. Prof. Otero teaches linguistics at UCLA.

$ 9.95 paperback ISBN: 0-919619-50-3
$19.95 hardcover ISBN: 0-919619-51-1

Murray Bookchin:
TOWARD AN ECOLOGICAL SOCIETY

This major work is a challenge to the ecology movement and to all ecologically-minded citizens. Murray Bookchin is a pioneer of the social ecology movement. His writings on ecology go back to 1952 before the works of Rachel Carson, the anti-nuke protests, the works of Schumacher and Alinsky. This book is a companion work to Bookchin's contemporary classic, *Post-Scarcity Anarchism*. Murray Bookchin teaches at the School of Environmental Studies, Ramapo College.

$ 8.95 paperback ISBN: 0-919619-98-7
$18.95 hardcover ISBN: 0-919619-99-5

BLACK ROSE BOOKS
Individuals order from: Black Rose Books, Ltd., 3981 Boulevard St-Laurent, Montréal, Québec, H2W 1Y5, Canada. *Booksellers order from:* Black Rose Books Ltd., University of Toronto Press, 33 East Tupper St., Buffalo, NY 14203, USA. Write for a free catalogue.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

torians of the present can choose whether they want to extend that legacy or reassess it, but in both cases the first step is to ask the critical questions and remember the answers that have already been attempted. □

Fine Print

MONICA STRAUSS

MOBY-DICK or, The Whale. *By Herman Melville. The Arion Press edition. University of California Press. 577 pp. $19.95 ($24.95 after December 31).*

While the blockbuster has become commercial publishing's Holy Grail, the pursuits of the industry's cellular level—the university presses, small presses and fine printers—often display better sense and more imagination. That vitality is especially evident this year in a joint venture that enabled the University of California Press to publish a $19.95 trade edition of the Arion Press *Moby-Dick*. Each of the 265 copies of the original hand-set, limited-edition folio was priced at $1,000.

The folio edition was designed by Andrew Hoyem, the proprietor of the Arion Press. A fine printer, Hoyem has spent the last two decades producing elaborate, hand-set volumes for bibliophiles and libraries. This *Moby-Dick*, printed in 1979, is his most ambitious and sumptuous effort to date. Bound in blue goatskin with silver lettering on the spine, the text is drawn from the definitive edition of Melville's work prepared by Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker and G. Thomas Tanselle under the auspices of the Northwestern University Press and The Newberry Library. The book's 600-some pages are set in 18-point Goudy Modern type on handmade paper of a delicate blue-gray cast. The 135 chapter openings are graced with blue-inked capitals taken from a display face designed for the edition by Charles Bigelow and Chris Holmes. Barry Moser did the 100 boxwood engravings dispersed throughout the text. Hoyem's decision regarding the subject matter of these splendid illustrations may be the edition's one vulnerable point. His rationale for the engravings is as follows:

> From the inception of the *Moby-Dick* project, it was decided that no dramatic or interpretive scenes would be imposed upon the reader's imagination, but that the text should be interspersed with informative depictions of subjects mentioned by Melville. Four categories were chosen: places, creatures, objects or tools, and processes used in the whaling industry. Thus New Bedford, whales and harpooning will be shown, but the Pequod, Ahab and Moby-Dick will be described only by Melville's words.

This decision, it seems to me, took some of the wind out of the edition's magnificent sails. The book that Melville himself described as "wicked" is a breathtaking adventure story, which at the same time explores the central dualities of human experience. The famous factual digressions on whales and whaling are an integral part of the imaginative whole. When these digressions are isolated as source material for the illustrations, as they are here, and accompanied by pedestrian explanatory captions ("Whaling scene," "Whaleship at sea," "Whale's penis"), they run the risk of giving the book the appearance of a curiosity.

But illustration is a tricky business. With a few exceptions—Gustave Doré's *Don Quixote* or Alfred Kubin's *Tales of Edgar Allan Poe*—the most successful illustrations are those contemporary with the text. One thinks of George Cruikshank's *Oliver Twist*, John Tenniel's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, Aubrey Beardsley's *Salomé*. No alien esthetic intrudes. *Moby-Dick* was not illustrated until the twentieth century, and Hoyem must surely have looked askance at the famous 1930 Lakeside Press edition with its woodcuts by Rockwell Kent. These are firmly anchored in an unappealing W.P.A. style, which links the self-consciously proletarian with the melodramatic.

Nevertheless, in Moser, Hoyem had an artist capable of a sensitive and imaginative interpretation, as his contributions to the University of California Press editions of *The Aeneid* and *The Divine Comedy* show. Never departing from the cues given by the text, Moser's illustrations of those books are still sufficiently suggestive and abstract to allow room for the reader's imagination. Surely if he was capable of providing vivid images for Dante's *Inferno*, he could have given us a visual interpretation of Queequeg, Ishmael, Fedallah or Ahab that would have added some drama to the cool elegance of Hoyem's design.

But perhaps an element of conservatism is inevitable in such an elaborate production. In fine printing, the richness of the materials and the awe-inspiring manual labor transform a book from a receptacle for the text into a work of art, a collector's item and (*sotto voce*) an investment. Its size alone tells us that the Arion Press *Moby-Dick* is intended for the lectern, not for the hand—for display, not for intimacy.

Must fine printing subvert a book's most important function—its accessibility to the individual reader? This is true of some fine printed books and not of others. Elaborate folio editions like *Moby-Dick* are rare; most fine printed books are far more modest in size and price. The Arion Press *Moby-Dick* is a tour de force. It demonstrates the craftsman's skill, dedication and patience, and, at the same time, it functions as an act of homage to a classic. It serves as a standard of excellence for the craft, a monument to printing's possibilities under ideal conditions.

With the University of California Press edition, Hoyem's accomplishment takes on another dimension. Many of his design decisions were governed by the eventuality of a photo-offset reduction. The success of the $19.95 version bears witness to his foresight—the brilliant craftsmanship does "trickle down" to the ordinary reader. Two-thirds the size of the original limited edition, the book is comfortable to handle. The crystalline composition of each page, the allusive power of the typeface, the adventurous design of the chapter headings, the generous margins and the strong binding allow the reader to experience Melville's exuberant novel in a physical framework suited to its epic scope. If there are any cavils, they lie in the choice of paper: its stark white tone creates too strong a contrast to the black letter forms; its smooth surface considerably reduces the tonal nuances of the engravings.

For whom is this edition of *Moby-Dick* intended? I would say it is intended for people who read books more than once. □

Monica Strauss is an art historian who has written for Fine Print *and* The American Book Collector.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Year in Books

ELIZABETH POCHODA

Christmas is the time for fat books and the fat books on my list include, in random order of cultural significance, Terence Kilmartin's re-translation of Marcel Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past* (Random House, three volumes, $75), the University of California Press trade edition of the Arion Press *Moby-Dick* ($19.95), which is reviewed in this issue by Monica Strauss, and *What's What: A Visual Glossary of the Physical World*, by David Fisher and Reginald Bragonier Jr. (Hammond, $30). Somewhat thinner despite its piggy title, *Of Muppets and Men* (Alfred A. Knopf, $27.50) recommends itself as an engaging anatomy of my family's favorite entertainment.

As to books of modest size, the outstanding novel of the year seems to me to be Gregor von Rezzori's *Memoirs of an Anti-Semite* (The Viking Press, $13.95), which is not, I repeat, *not* autobiography but fiction of an especially fine sort. In American letters, John Updike and Thomas Berger brought their sagas of middle America into middle age with *Rabbit is Rich* (Alfred A. Knopf, $13.95) and *Reinhart's Women* (Delacorte Press, $13.95). The former, in my opinion, is the best American novel in many years and surely the best by Updike ever. Berger's book is less grandiose and more appealing in some ways, and as always, savagely funny.

For readers who appreciate the resilience of the English language and have suffered too long from the foolishness of Edwin Newman and the other pop-grammarians, I recommend Jim Quinn's witty and informative *American Tongue and Cheek: A Populist Guide to the Language* (Pantheon Books, $11.95) even though the author is a friend. One final choice—I have omitted mention of Jacobo Timerman's book because my admiration there is redundant—I found Carol Bly's brief essays, *Letters From the Country* (Harper & Row, $12.95), refreshing models of individual concern with issues of community and national welfare; they are also models of fine prose.

ROSS FELD

We who read literary fiction, we're just a big bunch of phonies. All that stuff we chant upon entering the sanctuary about the self-contained artifice of the novel, its dependence on whim, the marvelous creature it is (more fantastic than unicorn, than griffin), which can self-cannibalize and self-generate too . . . but as soon as we start getting interested in "what happens next," it's goodbye distance, goodbye esthetic sovereignty—all we slobberingly want is more, come on, deeper! closer! more! Two smooth, cool comedies of 1981 that I especially liked refuse to let us get away with it, each putting down a manicured and purposeful foot on the tail of the burrowing reader: Italo Calvino's *If on a winter's night a traveler* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, $12.95) and Gilbert Sorrentino's *Crystal Vision* (North Point Press, $14.50). Both are elegantly orchestrated catastrophes of fictional displacement. The Calvino—very sly, funny—may be the first novel in which a flub at the bindery replaces character as destiny. In the Sorrentino—even funnier—Brooklyn bullshitting and interrupting hang metaphor and symbol out on so high a line that even the good professors of the Modern Language Association might give pause before trying to retrieve them. These two sweet, philosophic and very intentional novels also, by the way, make most previous "meta-fictions" seem about as subtle and spry as *And Quiet Flows The Don*.

Less common still is the novel that plays a trick on the reader from the *other* end, opening up a longer, stranger, darker tunnel than we'd bargained for at the start. William Wharton's extraordinary *Dad* (Alfred A. Knopf, $12.95) struck me as exactly this sort of book. Brilliantly square (in fact, this may be Wharton's special tincture: to present experience in a very unhip, straight-American, hamburger-helper way, so that eventually you feel safe letting go of your intellectual suspicions—at which point he lowers on you an unexpected fabulism), *Dad* is about a 50-year-old son's baptism into the world of parental decrepitude. The imaginativeness of Wharton's novels (*Birdy* was the first) is not keyed to the exotic; rather, it's a vision of the duplicative and the unclosed. He seems to me to be perhaps the most mysteriously *airy* of our novelists (and not solely because of the pseudonym, the personal shyness—although that, I have a feeling, has allowed the insufficiently serious critical readings he's had).

If I were French, I'd say the same thing about Robert Pinget. His prose is nothing at all like Wharton's—it's about a thousand times denser—but *Fable* (Red Dust, $6.95) is also a floating book. Small (96 pages), colloidal, suspended in a nonreferential style you never completely understand, the book consists of a violent, spasmodic series of out-of-time humiliations. The "fable," it starts to dawn on you, is that of either Jesus or the artist—a fine thread separating the two.

Other good, if more conventional, 1981 novels: The baroque is alive, and its oxygen, in terms of contemporary fiction, continues to come from history. Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* (Alfred A. Knopf, $13.95) and Tamas Aczel's *Illuminations* (Pantheon Books, $14.95) are books that take political terror not only as a fact but as something by now almost decorative, too; they are gaudy novels that I can imagine Laurence Sterne, early Russian formalists and the medieval Popes all getting a charge out of. On the much more minimal end, I liked Edward Bunker's *Little Boy Blue* (The Viking Press, $12.95)—a young criminal's education, one flat error after another: strong. John Updike's Rabbit and Thomas Berger's Reinhart age well, but Don Carpenter's fine novels of show business also add up nicely, the best Hollywood fiction since that of Daniel Fuchs. The new one, *Turnaround* (Simon and Schuster, $13.95), lacks some of the white-light despair of Carpenter's previous *A Couple of Comedians*—a small classic—but it's a sour and knowledgeable book all its own, never once overplayed. A word should be said for John Crowley's *Little, Big* (Bantam Books, $8.95), a big and harmonic *trompe l'oeil* fantasy made up of uncommonly good sentences and paragraphs. And one too for an impressive first novel: Joanne Meschery's *In A High Place* (Simon and Schuster, $13.95), a risky mix of domestic mercy and brass-band social exuberance, with a finale straight out of the best Frank Capra. And what about the cinder-block-sized Hemingway *Selected Letters: 1917-1961* (Charles Scribner's Sons, $27.50)? A novel it isn't, but you simply don't know what fiction (otherwise known as lying) is until you read these: an unmatched romance-of-ego.

Poetry, for me, this year, was a single book: the collection of all of William

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bronk's poems into *Life Supports* (North Point Press, $20)—full display of an American voice of darkness and skepticism and intricacy like that of no one else writing. The intimacy of Bronk's argument with (and helpless love for) "the world, the worldless" ought not to be passed up. He is, at this moment, our most significant poet.

As for nonfiction: I suppose that *someone* reading these pages hasn't availed himself yet of Jacobo Timerman's *Prisoner without a name, Cell without a number* (Alfred A. Knopf, $10.95). The same person, let me guess, who hasn't got around yet to reading Jeremiah either, right?

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

MY CHRISTMAS LIST

Frivolities: Martin Cruz Smith's *Gorky Park* (Random House, $13.95) is the thriller of the year, rapid of narrative motion, deft in characterization of Russians and Americans, and remarkable in its evocation of the Moscow milieu. It turns out that Smith spent all of two weeks in the city. A month might have been too long. Eric Ambler's *The Care of Time* (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, $11.95) evokes memories of his prewar classics, *A Coffin for Dimitrios*, *Background to Danger* and *Cause for Alarm*. The old master writes lovely prose and views the world with proper cynicism. Probably nobody in Boston or anywhere else talks like the crummy assortment of petty thieves, shysters and corrupt politicians who people *The Rat on Fire* (Alfred A. Knopf, $10.95), by George V. Higgins, but the results are highly entertaining.

The single straight novel that entertained me was John Updike's *Rabbit is Rich* (Alfred A. Knopf, $13.95). Approaching middle age, our hero is randy as ever but more disposed to muse on the meaning of life and the imminence of death. This is Updike's middle America, a dreadful place to live but good to visit for a space in the author's company.

Serious Stuff: Let not friendship divert me from duty. Victor Navasky's *Naming Names* (Penguin Books, $5.95) is a compelling and appalling chronicle of the McCarthy era and a cautionary tale for good measure. On the day I wrote these words, the C.I.A. was granted new authority to spy on the citizenry. Another paperback, Lester Thurow's *The Zero-Sum Society* (Penguin Books, $4.95), is the year's best book by an economist. Just to make myself clear, it is also by more demanding criteria a fresh look at the American economy as entangled in difficult choices no one is willing to make. There have been a flock of books about the 1980 election. The best conventional account is Jack W. Germond and Jules Witcover's *Blue Smoke & Mirrors* (The Viking Press, $14.95), very much in the Teddy White tradition of the fly on the ceiling. However, Thomas Ferguson and Joel Rogers's *The Hidden Election* (Pantheon Books, $16.50) supplies deeper insight into the shifting financial and corporate coalitions which propelled Reagan into the White House. For political freaks, Joseph Califano's *Governing America: An Insider's Report From the White House and the Cabinet* (Simon and Schuster, $16.95) may well tell you more than you really want to know about the reasons the Carter Administration embarrassed even its own members.

MARGO JEFFERSON

In fiction, reissues or collections of scattered, sometimes unpublished, material have given me great pleasure, especially Stevie Smith's wonderful trilogy, *Novel on Yellow Paper*, *Over the Frontier* and *The Holiday*, published by Virago and soon to be available here in Pinnacle paperbacks; Paule Marshall's first novel, *Brown Girl, Brownstones*, reissued by The Feminist Press ($6.95); more of Louise Bogan's prose (arranged with too firm a guiding hand) in *Journey Around My Room* (The Viking Press, $13.95). As for nonfiction, I admired David Levering Lewis's cultural history, *When Harlem Was in Vogue* (Alfred A. Knopf, $17.95). I'm glad all these books escaped the out-of-sight, out-of-mind or out-of-print regions, where a writer is described as "gifted but minor" or a subject as "of limited and special interest."

RICHARD LINGEMAN

As a part-time writer of books, I find myself in the embarrassing position of having ventured little outside my nose-to-the-grindstone reading. Most of that has been enjoyable, but much of it was published before 1900, and I don't think this is the proper occasion to urge readers to go to the Strand (a second-hand bookstore in Manhattan). Still, one 1900 book was "new" this year—the University of Pennsylvania edition of Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* ($40, paper $14.95), which restores cuts made in the original edition. While the restorations don't exactly speed up the narrative, or make a great book greater, they do enhance our understanding of a novel H. L. Mencken called a "psalm of life." *Sister Carrie* could withstand bowdlerization, and, as we now see, it can also survive solicitous scholars. Dreiser doesn't appear in *No Place of Grace*, Jackson Lears's study of "anti-modernist intellectuals" of the turn of the century (Pantheon Books, $18.50). Nor do a lot of other Americans of non-upper-class origins, for that matter. They were not, of course, in Lears's brilliantly lit focus; neurasthenia wasn't Hurstwood's problem. (Like most people in Jacob Riis's "other half," his was starvation.) But if you want top-notch intellectual history featuring Freud, Marx and Gramsci in three rings, Lears is your man. Oh, yes, Jonathan Raban tries a Mississippi River voyage for his neurasthenia 1980s-style, and his log, *Old Glory* (Simon and Schuster, $16.95) is a sensitive vision of America as a palimpsest of past and present.

BEN SONNENBERG

MEMOIRS OF AN ANTI-SEMITE. *By Gregor von Rezzori. The Viking Press. $13.95.* A remarkable novel, especially the chapter "Youth," comparable to the very best and most skillful classic and modern works.

MOBY-DICK. *By Herman Melville. University of California Press. $19.95.* A masterpiece of book design, irresistible at the price.

TASTE AND THE ANTIQUE: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900. *By Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny. Yale University Press. $35.*

VICTOR NAVASKY

Most unfairly neglected book: Alan Wolfe's *America's Impasse: The Rise and Fall of the Politics of Growth* (Pantheon Books, $16.50) brilliantly suggests how our politics contradicts our economics.

Most urgent book: *Protest and Survive,* edited by E. P. Thompson and Dan Smith, introduction by Daniel Ellsberg (Monthly Review Press, $4.95). This edition includes E. P. Thompson's essential and startling essay on the dangers inherent in U.S. and Soviet military and foreign policies, the probability of nuclear confronta-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion and what we can do about it.

Least resistible book: *Tickets,* by Richard Brickner (Simon and Schuster, $12.95). Brickner has done for the operagoer what Walker Percy did for the moviegoer, i.e., written a very special (and in this case occasionally hilarious) novel about one, in a voice all his own.

RICHARD HOWARD

THE REVISIONIST. *By Douglas Crase. Little, Brown and Company. $10.95.* The most interesting book of first poems in many years.

THE FIGURE OF ECHO: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After. *By John Hollander. University of California Press. $17.50.* A book about the delights and contentments of influence.

MIDNIGHT'S CHILDREN. *By Salman Rushdie. Alfred A. Knopf. $13.95.* A first novel which promises a great career.

FORMS OF TALK. *By Erving Goffman. University of Pennsylvania Press. $7.95.* Who is more interesting or more illuminating than Goffman? No one.

GRACE SCHULMAN

THE PENGUIN BOOK OF HEBREW VERSE. *Edited and translated by T. Carmi. Viking/Penguin. $25. Paper $9.95.* I must say at the outset that I have a connection with Carmi's poetry, having translated a book of his poems into English, but I have no relation to this bilingual anthology. The anthology is, I believe, a major work and represents an unbroken tradition of Hebrew poetry from biblical times to the present; it should have great appeal not only to Hebraists but also to American poets.

THE FIGURE OF ECHO: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After. *By John Hollander. University of California Press. $17.50.* A concise, fascinating study of the myth of Echo and of the trope that nymph has inspired, illuminating the poetry of Milton, Jonson, Cowper and the Moderns. The figure is important in the relations between voice and echo, in verbal patterns and in the writing of poetry itself.

RUMOR VERIFIED: Poems 1979-1980. *By Robert Penn Warren. Random House. $9.95. Paper $5.95.* Poems by a master whose every collection is more exciting than the last.

TOO BRIGHT TO SEE. *By Linda Gregg. Graywols Press (P.O. Box 142, Port Townsend, Wash. 98368). $9.* A first book by a gifted, original poet.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

This dismal century necessitates that memoirs of prison and persecution be counted as a genre. Jacobo Timerman's *Prisoner without a name, Cell without a number* (Alfred A. Knopf, $10.95) sets a new standard. Not only did it alert readers and critics to a forgotten catastrophe but it did so in astonishingly fine prose. And, unlike so many such books, it actually made a difference.

Clive James's *Unreliable Memoirs* (Alfred A. Knopf, $10) proved to be versatile and hilarious, but too few reviewers noticed the undercurrent of melancholy and loss. The book must have been much harder to write than at first appeared; its deftness demands two sittings and a second bottle.

Jonathan Raban's *Old Glory* (Simon and Schuster, $16.95), in which he floats Candide-like down the hazardous Mississippi, is a travel book of exceptional pith. Every meander tells a story, and the people who live on the banks haven't found a better listener since Twain.

KAI BIRD

THE HIDDEN ELECTION: Politics and Economics in the 1980 Presidential Campaign. *Edited by Thomas Ferguson and Joel Rogers. Pantheon Books. $16.50.* This book is not only the best analysis of the 1980 election; it is essential reading for those who wish to understand the political economy of America in the coming decade.

THE ARAB PREDICAMENT. *By Fouad Ajami. Cambridge University Press. $19.95.* Here is a scholar-journalist whose biting wit spares none of the Middle Eastern idols.

THE ROAD TO GDANSK. *By Daniel Singer. Monthly Review Press. $15. Paper $6.50.* No Western writer understands what is happening in Poland today better than this Polish-born journalist, who now lives in Paris.

CORPORATE CONTROL, CORPORATE POWER. *By Edward S. Herman. Cambridge University Press. $18.95.* The title tells all. The raw data on corporate ownership and interlocking directorships are alone worth the price of this hefty book.

ELITES IN AMERICAN HISTORY. *By Philip H. Burch Jr. Holmes & Meier. Three volumes, each $38.50. Paper $19.75.* Burch has painstakingly written the family tree for American elites dating from the Revolutionary War to the present.

WEBS OF POWER: International Cartels and the World Economy. *By Kurt Rudolf Mirow and Harry Maurer. Houghton Mifflin Company. $15.95. (January 1982.)* Mirow is the Brazilian entrepreneur who was run out of business by an international cartel of electrical manufacturers. Maurer is an American reporter in *The Nation*'s muckraking tradition. This cosmopolitan duo have written a solid account of how economic cartels still manage global trade.

ELENA BRUNET

TO FEED THEIR HOPES. *By John Sanford. University of Illinois Press. $12.95.* This book seems to have eluded the reviewers of most major publications. It is an imaginative and idiosyncratic chronicle of American women, told through a series of vignettes. Sanford is a true egalitarian: he gives equal billing to historical, fictional, obscure and even anonymous figures. There are tales about *both* Harriet Beecher Stowe *and* Little Eva, Anne Hutchinson *and* Virginia Dare (the first English child born on American soil, who disappeared with the entire colony on Roanoke Island), Eleanor Roosevelt *and* the wife of the unknown soldier, Joan Crawford *and* Sanford's fourth-grade teacher, and many more. Sanford shows that being a man needn't be an obstacle to understanding women.

HOUSEKEEPING. *By Marilynne Robinson. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. $10.95.* A beautiful and profoundly disturbing first novel about the childhood and growth of two sisters attempting to cope with loss and transience. It reads like poetry.

JANET GOLD

I think there is much to be said for reading and re-reading books that were not published this year or even this decade. It gives one a reprieve from current events. As I near the end of whatever I'm reading and start thinking about what to read next, I think of the books I've never read or would like to read again. Some of them aren't as wonderful as I thought they would be,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but many are better. When I recently reread Joseph Conrad's *Victory*, I loved it even more than I did ten years ago. Among the other rewards for looking backward this year were: André Malraux's *Man's Fate*, Conrad's *Lord Jim*, Graham Greene's *The Quiet American*, some of Henry James's longer short stories, especially "The Aspern Papers" and "The Beast in the Jungle," and Delmore Schwartz's short stories, *In Dreams Begin Responsibilities.* □

FILMS.

ROBERT HATCH

Man of Iron

All of Andrzej Wajda's movies are political; *Man of Iron* is agitprop—less a work of art deriving from a great social struggle than a weapon of that struggle. Deliberately, it seems, Wajda has here subordinated his creative gift to his patriotism; he has enlisted in Solidarity's revolution—the longest, and still unresolved, political cliffhanger of our time.

Man of Iron is the sequel to *Man of Marble*. The hero of the earlier film is father to the hero of the later one, and both are played by Jerzy Radziwilowicz. At one point, the narratives of the two films come together, and we see again the long corridor shot on which *Man of Marble* abruptly ended. Now, in *Man of Iron*, it is followed by scenes which Wajda may well have made to round off the earlier picture, but which the censors forced him to cut.

Despite this relationship, the textures of the two pictures are very different. *Man of Marble* was structurally graceful and morally subtle; it was a study of complex personalities seeking their way through baffling social currents. *Man of Iron* is structurally more arbitrary, the major blocks of its story being positioned more for political than dramatic effect. The difference can be illustrated most efficiently by comparing the men played by the handsome and quietly appealing Radziwilowicz. In *Man of Marble* he is Mateus Birkut, a Stakhanovite hero of the 1950s who has disappeared and whom the TV journalist Agnieszka (played by Krystyna Janda in both movies) undertakes to find. He is dead before she catches up with him, but on the trail she pieces together the figure of an elusive, tormented man beneath the marble of adulation. Tomczyk, his son, suffers adversities but is untroubled by doubt. Once he has grasped what it means to serve the people, he drives forward with rhetoric unfurled. All the characters I can recall from *Man of Marble* are challenging contradictions of good and evil, of personal ambition and social zeal. In *Man of Iron*, people are good or they are bad; virtue is an absolute and doubt is banished. As a Polish critic has complained, the film is made much on the Soviet model; it is an example of Social Realism from a different side, but with people still being "used as static illustrations of history" (as quoted by Nina Darnton in her portrait of Wajda, *The New York Times Magazine*, October 11).

For the most part, *Man of Iron* is a worm's-eye view of the industrial unrest in Poland that led to the Gdansk shipyard strike in August 1980. That action culminated in a union contract which Solidarity wrested from the government—a contract, unprecedented in a Communist state, that gave the workers the right to strike. The worm in question is a certain Winkiel (Marian Opania), a veteran reporter from the national TV station who is sent to Gdansk to ferret out any dirt about Tomczyk, the strike leader, that might be used to scotch later attempts to make of him a martyred hero like his father. In this role, Opania puts on the most flamboyant show of craven panic that I have seen on the screen since Peter Lorre whimpered his way into our hearts. He is an alcoholic who sweats vodka; every telephone call sets him to trembling; summoned to a meeting, he flings his belongings into a valise and stumbles down the back stairs. I can't believe that anyone in authority would send him out for coffee, let alone on a secret mission to embattled Gdansk. However, this corrupt lackey of the government apparat is an easily read symbol of the malign forces opposing the strikers, and he is useful to Wajda in other ways. As he scuttles about town, seeking a permit that will get him through the shipyard gates, the cameras following him have opportunities to record scenes of the developing crisis. And when he meets up with a former colleague, their long, bibulous conversations can be turned into flashbacks to the abortive student uprising of 1968, when the workers would not join in and young Tomczyk quarreled bitterly with his father, and to the strike of 1970, when the students held back and many workers, among them Birkut, were massacred.

As in *Man of Marble*, Wajda weaves several time threads, both documentary and fictional, into a single tapestry, the strands of which are kept distinct through the use of black-and-white "newsreels," and sepia and full-color photography. The authenticity of the film must deeply affect native audiences, and the devout Catholicism of the Poles comes through strongly. The strikers erect a high wooden cross at the plant gates in memory of comrades who died in 1970, and Tomczyk prays before a smaller private cross that he has planted on the spot where his father fell. He and Agnieszka are married in church, with Lech Walesa, who plays himself in several scenes, in attendance as a witness. It is a ceremony that unites traditional beliefs to present aspirations. Further, the brief appearances in the picture not only of Walesa but also of Tadeusz Fiszbach, the party boss of Gdansk and the only official whom Solidarity trusted, and of Anna Walentynowicz, the shipyard crane operator whose dismissal as an activist sparked the 1980 strike, must thrill the Poles.

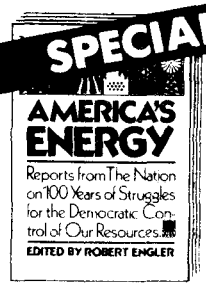
As the days wear on, it becomes clear that the odds are swinging toward the strikers. Winkiel, who is forever testing how the wind blows, finally cries in despair that, no matter what the outcome, he will be kicked in the ass; and in the end, though he tries to switch sides, that is precisely what happens. The film comes to a roaring climax, with strikers by the hundreds crowding into a great shed to watch Walesa sign the contract with an absurdly large pen, a souvenir of Pope John Paul II's 1979 visit. (I picked up this and other background details from Lawrence Weschler's "A Reporter in Poland," *The New Yorker*, November 9.) But after the heady triumph comes a dash of cold water. A man leans from a large, official-looking car to accost the crestfallen Winkiel with the sour observation that "it is only a scrap of paper, signed under duress." Wajda is heart and mind for Solidarity, but he is not carried away by the exhilaration of his own picture. (I am writing this column on the day when *The New York Times* carries news of the Polish Politburo's instruction to the government that it seek a parliamentary ban on strikes.) *Man of Iron* is not Wajda's finest picture, but it is a political tract of great power, a courageous gesture and perhaps a historic document. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Holiday Gifts From The Nation.

AMERICA'S ENERGY

SPECIAL OFFER


AMERICA'S ENERGY
Reports from The Nation on 100 Years of Struggles for the Democratic Control of Our Resources.
EDITED BY ROBERT ENGLER

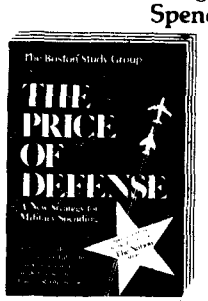
Paperback

ONLY $3.50
(includes postage)
Reg. $7.85

The Energy Crisis wasn't born yesterday. To understand how the corporations got the oil (and gas and coal and electricity) and we got the headaches, read this compendium of reports from *The Nation* on 100 years of struggles for the democratic control of our resources.

Note: America's Energy *is the first in a series of* The Nation *and Pantheon Books written by our authors and offered at special discount prices to* Nation *readers.*

THE PRICE OF DEFENSE
A New Strategy for Military Spending



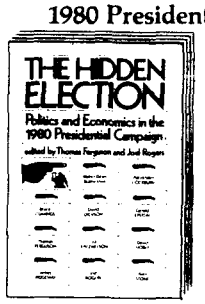
Special Nation *Paperback Edition*

only $4.95
plus $1.50 for postage and handling

The only book in which ordinary citizens get a thoroughly researched, intelligently argued presentation of U.S. military capabilities and commitments.

"It is a bold argument that the United States might get more security at less cost. THE PRICE OF DEFENSE has done just that, with facts, figures and in detail."
J.W. Fulbright

THE HIDDEN ELECTION
Politics and Economics in the 1980 Presidential Campaign



Edited by Nation *Columnists Tom Ferguson and Joel Rogers*

Hardcover
$16.00
plus $1.75 for postage and handling

"A delightfully unconventional assessment of the 1980 election that is certain to bring partisan juices to the boil. *The Hidden Election* should be read now—and reread in 1984"
Library Journal

Note: The Hidden Election *is one in a series of* The Nation *and Pantheon Books written by our authors and offered at a special price to* Nation *readers.*

MARSHALL ARISMAN POSTER

only $4.00
(includes postage).

A limited edition poster of Marshall Arisman's graphic reaction to the Reagan Administration is the perfect gift for a friend, or for yourself. Arisman's drawing originally appeared on the cover of *The Nation*'s January Inauguration issue, E.P. Thompson's "Letter to America." The poster, measuring 16.5" x 24", is printed on fine coated stock.

SAVE THE NATION

If you find that you have stacks of *The Nation* that you just can't part with, here are two ways to protect your back issues. Choose either an attractive library case or a binder, both in orange, scuff-resistant Kivar and embossed with *The Nation* logo. Each holds six months—safe from dust and wear—at a bargain price.

BINDERS
1 for $7.50
3 for $21.75
6 for $42.00

LIBRARY CASE
1 for $5.95
3 for $17.00
6 for $30.00

THE NATION SINCE 1865

These 100% cotton T-shirts come in black with white lettering front and back.

Three sizes, S-M-L, are available.

only $7.95
(includes postage)

THE NATION MART ORDER FORM

QUANTITY		COST PER UNIT	TOTAL
	America's Energy	@ $3.50	
	The Price of Defense	@ $4.95 + $1.50	
	The Hidden Election	@ $16.00 + $1.75	
	Marshall Arisman Poster	@ $4.00	
	Binders	1 @ $7.50 3 @ $21.75 6 @ $42.00	
	Library Case	1 @ $5.95 3 @ $17.00 6 @ $30.00	
	T shirt(s) (S-M-L)	@ $7.95	

QUANTITY		COST PER UNIT	TOTAL
	REPRINTS		
	Latin America	1 copy @ $3.00	
	Letter to America	10 copies @ $8.00	
	Intervention	50 copies @ $30.00	
	El Salvador	100 copies @ $50.00	
	Empire as a Way of Life	1,000 copies @ $300.00	

QUANTITY		COST PER UNIT	TOTAL
	Back issues (1981) date	@ $2.00	
	Back issues (1980 & prior) date	@ $3.00	

TOTAL ENCLOSED _____

SEND TO:
NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Mail check or money order to The Nation Mart, 72 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011. *Offers expire June 30, 1982.*

NM8147

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SPECIAL NATION REPRINTS

SPECIAL REPRINT PRICES

1 copy	@	$3.00
10 copies	@	$8.00
50 copies	@	$30.00
100 copies	@	$50.00
1,000 copies	@	$300.00

• **LATIN AMERICA: A POLITICAL GUIDE.** An invaluable survey of thirty-three Latin American countries by Penny Lernoux, *The Nation*'s award-winning Latin American correspondent.

• **A LETTER TO AMERICA.** *The Nation* January Inauguration issue was devoted entirely to E.P. Thompson's compelling essay on the clear and present danger of nuclear war.

• **INTERVENTION.** Under what conditions, if any, is military (or other) intervention ever justified? An entire issue of *The Nation* on the subject of intervention contains the papers presented at a Conference on Intervention, co-sponsored by *The Nation* and the Columbia University School of International Affairs.

• **EL SALVADOR.** A compilation of *Nation* articles on Central America and El Salvador, including an early debunking of the famed "White Paper" by James Petras.

• **EMPIRE AS A WAY OF LIFE.** William Appleman Williams' brilliant analysis of America's life, with an empire and the implications of life without one, was the focus of this special issue that was distributed to the delegates at the 1980 Democratic National Convention.

BACK ISSUES OF THE NATION

1981 issues are $2.00 each. 1980 and earlier issues are $3.00 each. (There is limited availability on some back issues.)

THE NATION IN MICROFORM

The Nation is available on 35 mm microfilm from 1865 to 1980; on 16 mm microfilm from 1966 to 1980 and on microfiche from 1970 to 1980. For details and prices please contact University Microfilm, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106.

SPREAD THE NEWS WITH GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS

Give *The Nation* to a friend. Send $24.00 for the first one-year gift and $18.00 for each additional one-year gift. Please use gift coupon on back page.

CLASSIFIED.

MISCELLANEOUS

DISARM YOURSELF. Stamped envelope to New Party, 8319 Fulham Court, Richmond, VA 23227.

EINSTEIN SUPERCEDED! $1. Thomas, 408 Vt., Daytona, FL 32018.

ISLAM, unknown, misrepresented last world faith. For serious, challenging material on Islam write: Muslim House, 4744 Lachwood St., Philadelphia, PA 19143.

HYDROPONICS: Books, testing equipment. Write: Agri. Book Co., PO Box 6951, Lubbock, TX 79413, for catalog.

BUTTONS, BUMPERSTICKERS

ACLU BUMPERSTICKER—Our Bill of Rights: Love it and Leave it Alone! $3 each (postage included) to Stanley Schear, 40 Garth Rd., Scarsdale, NY 10583.

PERSONALS

SINGLES WHO THINK read & publish in Contact High. Find out why. Free brochure. Box 500-N, Mendocino, CA 95460.

ORIENTAL CONTACTS. Cherry Blossoms, Honokaa, HI 96727.

UNATTACHED? Meet aware, literate singles—like YOU! Very low fee. Call DATELINE—free: 800-451-3245.

A LIBERTARIAN, retired gentleman, vibrant, dedicated and intensely sentimental, seeks a sensible, constant and knowledgeable secretary/co-author and, eventually, companion. Contact: Nicola Piesco, 210 No. Florence Ave., Westfield, NJ 07090.

SCANDINAVIAN LADIES, 18-65, sincere, seek correspondence/marriage. Details: Scannaclub, Dept. N5, Box 4, Pittsford, NY 14534.

ORIENTAL FRIENDSHIP CORRESPONDENCE. Lovely photos! Golden Hearts, PO Box 2423-N, Yakima, WA 98907.

GOODLOOKING WOMAN, wholesome, warm, deeply feeling, vulnerable, independent. Wishes to meet man, tall, about 50. Write Nation Box 26.

TAX PLANNING

TAX ADVANTAGES of a second home? That beautiful, but impossible terrain is perfect for Topsider. Details $3. Topsider, PO Box 849Z, Yadkinville, NC 27055.

REAL ESTATE

CHICAGO BOUND? Live in Oak Park—unique urban suburb. Classic architecture, active diverse population, excellent library and schools. Just 15 minutes from downtown Chicago by public transportation. Free housing referral service—brochures, too. Contact Donna, OAK PARK HOUSING CENTER, 1041 South Blvd., Oak Park, IL 60302 (312) 848-7150.

TUCSON, ARIZONA. Buy Townhouses, residences, land, motels, apartments. Free information. Reputable Roy Long Realty, 5671 N. Oracle Rd., 85704. M.J. Barrett.

TRAVEL

MOUNTAIN HOT-SPRINGS HOTEL in private valley: sunshine, swimming, massage, rest. Room & meals from $25 daily. Brochure: Apdo 1-1187, Guadalajara, Mexico.

GIFTS

FANTASY PRODUCTS. Unicorns, dragons, wizards, SF buttons, notecards, stickers, etc. Free catalog. T-K Graphics, PO Box 1950-NA, Baltimore, MD 21203.

DISCOVER CUBA: Individual beach trips for sun lovers; "get acquainted" and special interest group tours. From $365/weekend to $880/fortnight. Weekly departures from Miami. Brochure: Anniversary Tours, 250 W. 57 St., New York, NY 10017; (212) 245-7501, toll free out-of-state 800-223-1336.

HEALTH

CANCER BREAKTHROUGH—as revealed in Spotlight and Globe 9-15-81 "Incredible cure-results within 30 days." For information send S.A.S.E., Medical Consultants, 781 W. Oakland Pk. Blvd., Ft. Lauderdale, FL 33311.

GH-3 GEROVITAL—Amazing Romanian Anti-Aging health rejuvenator. Now for in home use. Romanian formula available here. For information send SASE: Rejuvalife, 1323 SE 17 St. 201, Ft. Lauderdale, FL 33316.

EDUCATION

MEDICAL SCHOOL in the Dominican Republic. Fully Accredited. Classes taught in English. For information and application: Admissions Office, CIFAS University, Suite Q, 12820 Whittier Blvd., Whittier, CA 90602.

WHY SOME TEACHERS are so mean, send $1, SASE, to: Cathy Nunn, 1 Tarpon Dr., Ormond Bch., FL 32074.

HELP WANTED

HELP WANTED The Nation is seeking a full time Subscription Manager. One year related experience preferred. Responsibilities include fulfillment, circulation promotion and customer service. Salary commensurate with experience. Resumés only, to: Circulation Dept., The Nation, 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011.

BECOME A WINNER! New Multi-level company looking for self-motivated leaders to help found sponsorship lines. WIN-WIN MARKETING, PO Box 264, Avoorheesville, NY 12186 or call 518-765-2016 after 7 P.M.

CHANGE JOBS, CHANGE THE WORLD! Every year, COMMUNITY JOBS, a monthly journal, lists over 2,000 job and internship openings in social change work nationwide. Work for a job you can believe in! Just send $2 for a sample issue. Write: COMMUNITY JOBS, Box 405 1520 16th St. NW, Washington DC 20036.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR ACLU of NJ. Administrative responsibility and leadership role in an expanding and aggressive Civil Liberties Organization. Fundraising and public relations ability required, background in law preferred. Send resume and references to R. C. Erdman, Vice President, ACLU-NJ, 576 Malcolm Rd., Union, NJ 07083.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

PUBLICATIONS

TECHNOCRACY—TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for one dollar from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

SCRIPTWRITER NEWS. Bi-weekly newsletter for entertainment writers. Exclusive market news. Script contacts for film, theater, cable, contests, grants & more. One yr. sub., $36; sample issue, $3. 250 W. 57th St., #224N, New York, NY 10019.

GRITTY WORKING CLASS Quarterly Magazine out of Pittsburgh, PA,—The Mill Hunk Herald. Looking for creative writers and cheap subscribers ($3 a year), 916 Middle St., Pittsburgh, PA 15212.

MODERN HAIKU: Premier haiku magazine; cash awards. Sample: $2.50. PO Box 1752, Madison, WI 53701.

LITERARY SERVICES

BOOKS—Used and rare. FREE search service. Send wants to James Books, Box 521B, Brookline, MA 02147.

LEARN TO WRITE Book Proposals that get advances. Instructions by published author, $3.25. David Yale, PO Box 4384, New York, NY 10163.

FICTION CONSULTANT. 2227 20 St. N.W., 402 Washington, DC 20009.

WRITING, research, statistics—all fields, low cost. RESEARCH SERVICE, Chicago, IL. (312) 282-5289.

STILL LOOKING FOR A BOOK? Free search service pls. write Peter Sperling—Books, Dept. A, PO Box 300 Old Chelsea Sta., New York, NY 10113-0300.

RECIPES

POLYNESIAN DRINKS. Authentic recipes: $2. Tedar Press, P.O. Box 414, Chillicothe, OH 45601-0414.

"BEST CHILI OUTSIDE TEXAS"—10 quart mix $3 postpaid. Guaranteed. Bullcook, PO Box 96N, Frederick, MD 21701.

BOOKS

"LET ME DIE BEFORE I WAKE" and **"JEAN'S WAY,"** unique books on self-deliverance for the dying. Available through Hemlock Society, PO Box 66218, Los Angeles, CA 90066. Send SASE or call (213) 391-1871.

NAVAL—MILITARY BOOKS. Hard to find items. Send $2 for next 4 qtrly. cats. Each has over 1200 books. Antheil TN, 2177 Isabelle Ct., N. Bellmore, NY 11710.

WHAT WOULD HUCK FINN have to say about the firing up of the once-cold war? He had plenty to say in the Fifties, though most of us weren't listening! But we'd better listen this time to the kind of common sense Americans were born with—which Huck Finn still has because he wasn't educated out of it! For his comments on this and other subjects, order your copy of **Tom Sawyer Comes Home** by Dorothy Langley. It's only $7.95—and worth more than the B-1s in your budget. Send your check to Traumwald Press, #10, 3550 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, IL 60657.

HARIAN CREATIVE BOOKS & THE WORKSHOP UNDER THE SKY

Proudly announce:

HARIAN CREATIVE AWARDS I. $8.95, case; $3.95, paper.

VERSES VICE VERSES, selected poems of R. L. Loughlin. $8.95, case; $5.95, paper.

THE DAY THE WORLD WENT SANE, Hi-Sci-Fi by Harry Barba. $9.95, case; $3.95, paper.

Forthcoming:

WHAT'S COOKING IN CONGRESS?—II. Second in collector's Americana series. Dine with a Congressman, America's forty Presidents, and Elizabeth Taylor Warner—Pub. date, Mar., 1982. $11.95, case; $7.95, paper. 250 pp., over 200 favorites plus centerfold and Presidential verses.

among the maybes, selected poems of Don Sears. $9.95, case; $5.95, paper. Pub. date Feb., 1982.

Bookstore orders or send checks, $1.20 handling per book.

HARIAN CREATIVE BOOKS
47 Hyde Blvd.
Ballston Spa, N.Y. 12020

MERCHANDISE

THE LEGENDARY UNICORN

comes to life in this unique art poster—capturing the ancient creature in a new, whimsical and amusing pose. This full color poster comes ready for framing. A great hang up!

Enclosed is my check for _____ for ___ poster(s). Send $5.50 (2 for $10.00) to:
IL residents add 6% ● outside U.S.A. add $1.00

Our Solution ● P.O. Box 403
Lake Bluff, IL 60044
Allow 4-6 weeks for delivery

MOTOR-GENERATOR SET for home energy use, 200 amps. for external use. Once started operation will continue. Send $6. for preliminary drawings, A. Will, PO Box 31268, Houston, TX 77035.

THE AMERICAN MYTHS 1982 CALENDAR. (No Nukes successor)—12 beautiful, outrageous multicolored works debunking myths like Columbus Discovered America, Nuclear War Is Winnable. $6.25, 3/$17.50. SPC 924 Burnet Syracuse, NY 13203 (315) 472-5478. Bulk rates.

COLD WAR BONDS

Buy COLD WAR BONDS today! Earn shares in the NATIONAL SECURITY! Look what presidents have done with National Security. Now, you can get yours by sending $2.50 to Pioneer Graphics, Box 181, Eureka, CA 95501. You'll receive an attractive 8x11 bond certificate signed by the Secretary of Voodoo Economics. Write for volume discounts.

WILLARD WATER as seen on CBS 60 Minutes. 1 oz. bottle, 1 gal. equiv. $7.95 & shipping & handling $1. CMS, PO Box 38, Rockwood, MI 48173, 313-965-1936.

FOR THE COLLECTOR

FAMOUS LAST LETTERS BY

Joan of Arc, Henry IV, Marie Antoinette, Napoleon and more; one single set of actual letters, reproduced by the Paris Museum in 1935, available for sale. Nation Box 213.

CLASSICAL RECORD COLLECTORS: New newsletter keeps you posted on offbeat suppliers, upcoming releases, rare records, cutouts, comparative reviews. $1. for sample issue. Discophiliac, Garrison, NY 10524.

MODERN LIBRARY COLLECTOR #2: 5 pp. $1.45 & .20 postage. A. Oestreich, 340 Warren, Cincinnati, OH 45220.

THE NATION'S BEST CROSSWORD PUZZLES are collected in Frank Lewis' latest book, #4. Send $3.75 to E.S. Lewis, 62 Fort St., Fairhaven, MA 02719.

For the convenience of those who wish to place a classified notice in *THE NATION:*

RATES: $.75 per word, 15 word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Copy deadline 17 days prior to week of publication. Payment must accompany order.

Take advantage of our special offer: place an order for two insertions of your ad, and we will print a third insertion free!

TO: *THE NATION*
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y. N.Y. 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for my advertisement to run ____ weeks

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Copy: _____

_____

_____

_____

Payment in U.S. currency

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RELIGION

101 BIBLICAL CONTRADICTIONS, $3; Discovery, Box 20331-TN, West Valley City, UT 84120.

IS TONGUES-SPEAKING of God? FREE 80-page color book, others. Standard (B), Chester Springs, PA 19425.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS CREATED JESUS, authored Gospels. Positive proof; scholarly booklet, $3. Vector, PO Box 6215-A, Bellevue, WA 98007.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1895

P	E	R	S	O	N	A	L	I	T	Y	C	U	L	T
A	■	E	■	P	■	L	■	M	■	A	■	T	■	I
R	U	D	D	E	R	S	■	P	I	C	K	O	U	T
L	■	H	■	R	■	O	■	R	■	H	■	P	■	U
I	N	A	W	A	Y	■	S	E	N	T	R	I	E	S
A	■	I	■	T	■	E	■	C	■	S	■	A	■	A
M	A	R	T	I	A	L	L	A	W	■	A	N	O	N
E	■	■	■	C	■	E	■	T	■	U	■	■	■	D
N	O	S	E	■	S	C	R	E	E	N	S	T	A	R
T	■	U	■	S	■	T	■	D	■	C	■	I	■	O
A	L	B	A	C	O	R	E	■	C	H	I	T	I	N
R	■	S	■	O	■	I	■	T	■	A	■	A	■	I
I	D	I	O	T	I	C	■	A	R	S	E	N	I	C
A	■	S	■	E	■	A	■	L	■	T	■	I	■	U
N	A	T	U	R	A	L	S	C	I	E	N	C	E	S

MOVING?

ATTACH MAILING LABEL HERE

Don't miss a single issue of THE NATION.

New address:

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

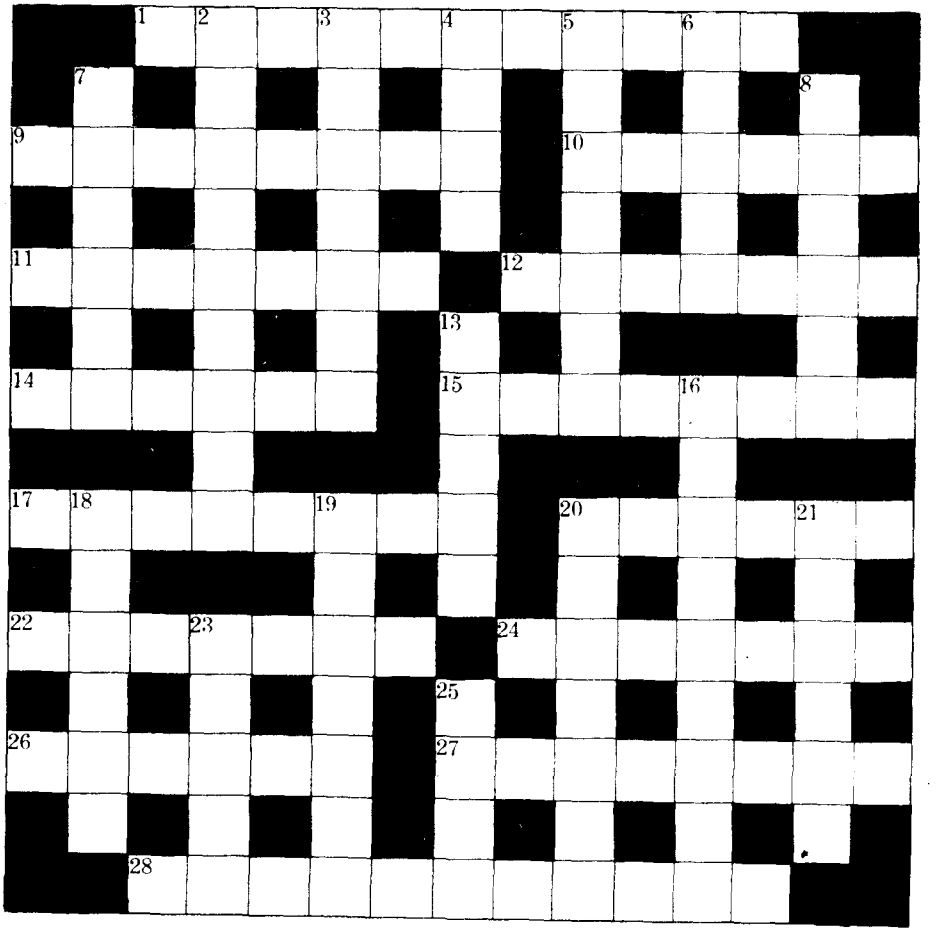
Please allow 6-8 weeks for processing.

Mail to: THE NATION
P.O. Box 1953
Marion, Ohio 43305

X-523

Crossword Puzzle No. 1896

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Press, seemingly abrupt in a manner of speaking, in a sort of what Churchill first mentioned. (4,7)
9 Temper might be up-to-date, by the sound of it making you tardy. (8)
10 What might be deep is possibly discerned. (6)
11 Relations of a sort, with color. (7)
12 See 23
14 A little ball the French put inside the skin. (6)
15 Incorporated shortly in an unusual stint, which shows natural aptitude. (8)
17 With a stage performance, writes these for children to be put into. (4,4)
20 Is one in the town associated with the air? (6)
22 See 7
24 See 18
26 One might find such a sheepish type in more trouble! (6)
27 See 13
28 Paying close attention to it might uncover what could be shot at. (4,7)

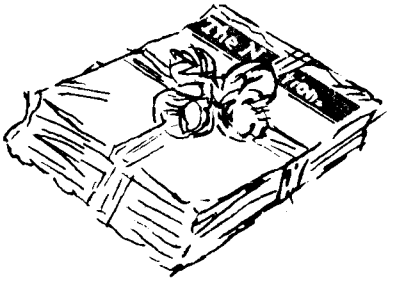
DOWN

2 Refrain with such being our peculiar point to slow things up. (9)
3 Are put in a comfortable spot which should be most handy to you. (7)
4 Sure, but unsure when it comes to the employer. (4)
5 With uncertain step, ran to show what someone does in a certain theater possibly. (7)
6 Urge one to take a large number at the beginning of 14. (5)
7 and 22 Copper might be found here, but lots of people working with it are not happy, according to Gilbert. (6,7)
8 Her start with the rising union organization is quite epic. (6)
13 and 27 Original type with such? (Those that hit the streets very early might not be so valuable.) (5,8)
16 Not necessarily a false conception attributed to Bach or Whitney. (9)
18 and 24 Such as "Dear Sir" usually have their points. (6,7)
19 Peculiarly enough, money is involved with a small company to achieve it! (7)
20 With the winning team on deck? (7)
21 One might see them staying up late. (6)
23 and 12 What some criminals face at a dance with nothing on? (That's one way to tell which way the wind is blowing!) (5,7)
25 Turnpike, possibly, associated with the military head at one time. (4)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THIS YEAR, LET'S GIVE ONE TO THE GIPPER!



God knows the White House could use a little more thinking like THE NATION's....
But if Ronald Reagan isn't on your gift list this year, do the next best thing: send gift subscriptions to friends who *do care* about what's going on in the world these days.

SAVE UP TO $12. off regular subscription prices!

You know there are some people on your list for whom THE NATION would make a totally unexpected and welcome gift. Send us your gift list now, and gift cards will be sent to you in time for holiday giving, illustrated with the Ed Koren drawing above. Then all through 1982, we'll be mailing your gift issues—47 in all—each one a reminder of your thoughtfulness.

The Nation.

P.O. BOX 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305

Subscription Rates

1st gift or renewal: 1 yr.—47 issues $24. **Each additional gift: 1 yr.—47 issues $18.**

Please add $7 for postage to Canada and other foreign countries (via surface mail). Subscriptions and postage payable in U.S. funds.

NOTE: Why not enter or extend your subscription as a holiday treat for yourself?

☐ Enter ☐ Renew my own subscription
(Please include label)

I enclose $_____ for ____ subscriptions.

☐ Bill me later

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

D8147

Please send gift subscriptions to:

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

D8147

ETSU

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED